
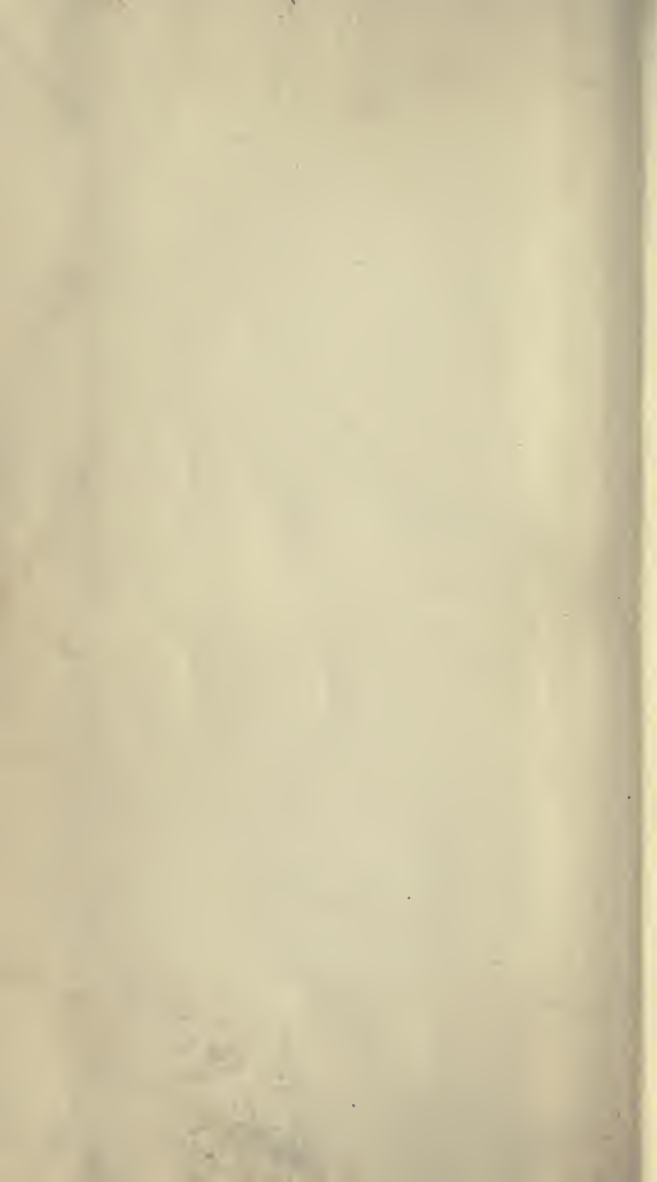


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FULLERS HISTORY OF THE
HOLY WAR



CHARLES WHITTINGHAM
CHISWICK

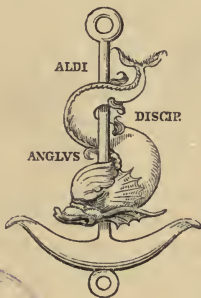


·THE·HISTORY·OF·THE·

·HOLY·WAR·

·BY·THOMAS·FULLER·

·D·D·



LONDON

WILLIAM PICKERING

1840

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Gift -
Richardson



TO THE HONOURABLE

EDWARD MONTAGU,

SON AND HEIR

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD LORD MONTAGU

OF BOUGHTON.

SIR JOHN POWLET,

SON AND HEIR

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN LORD POWLET OF

HINTON ST. GEORGE.

WHEN I observe the several alterations in nobility, I find four principal actors on the theatres of great families; the beginner, advancer, continuer, and ruiner. The beginner is he who by his virtues refineth himself from the dross of the vulgar, and layeth the foundation of his house: an excellent workman indeed, as who not only bringeth his tools, but maketh his materials. The advancer, who improveth the patrimony of honour he receiveth; and what his father found glass and made crystal, he findeth crystal and maketh it pearl. The continuer, who keepeth his nobility alive, and passeth it along, neither marring nor mending it; but sendeth it to his son as he received it from his father. The ruiner, who basely degenerateth from his ancestors; so that in him nobility hath run so far from its first starting, that it is tired: and whilst he liveth he is no better than his grandfather's tomb; without, carved over with honourable titles; within, full of emptiness, or what is worse, corruption.

Now to apply. You cannot be beginners of your families; that care was cared for, before your nurses were chosen, or your cradles provided. Your fathers,

b

though of late years fixed in a higher sphere, were bright stars long before. None can go on in our English chronicles, but they must meet with a Montagu and a Powlet, either in peace in their gowns, or in war in their armour. Yea, when I go backward by the streams of your paternal nobility (not to speak of the tributary brooks of their matches), I can never find the first fountain; and hope none shall ever find the last fall. For as for the ruiners of houses, I should rend that thought out with my heart, if it should conceive that of you. Nay, let me tell you, if you be but bare continuers of your honour, you deceive both the desires and hopes of your friends. Good is not good when proceeding from them from whom far better is expected. Your youthful virtues are so promising, that you cannot come off in your riper age with credit, without performing what may redound to the advancing of the honour of your family, and without building your houses one story higher in the English history.

Now know, next religion, there is nothing accomplisheth a man more than learning. Learning in a lord is as a diamond in gold. And if you fear to hurt your tender hands with thorny school-questions, there is no danger in meddling with history, which is a velvet study, and recreation work. What a pity is it to see a proper gentleman to have such a crick in his neck that he cannot look backward! yet no better is he who cannot see behind him the actions which long since were performed. History maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him with the experience of age, without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof. Yea, it not only maketh things past, present; but enableth one to make a rational conjecture of things to come. For this world affordeth no new accidents, but in the same sense wherein we call it a new moon, which is the old one in another shape, and yet no other than what hath been formerly. Old actions return again, furbished over with some new and different circumstances.

Now amongst all particular histories (I may say) none is more general than this of the Holy War, which now I present to your honours. Some will condemn me for an ill husband, in lavishing two noble patrons on one book, whereas, one of them might have served to have patronised many volumes. But first, I did it in the weak expression of my thankfulness unto you, being deeply indebted to you both; and I thought it dishonesty to pay all to one creditor, and none to another: and therefore conceived it best, to share my estate jointly betwixt you, as far forth as it would extend. Secondly, considering the weakness of this work, now being to walk abroad in the world, I thought it must be led by both arms, and needed a double supporter. And now I am sure this Holy War, which was unhappy heretofore, when acted, will be happy hereafter, now written and related, because dedicated to your honours. So resteth

Your honours'

in all service

THOMAS FULLER.

BROAD-WINDSOR,

March 6, 1639.



TO THE READER.

IN this work I can challenge nothing to myself, but the composing of it. The materials were found to my hand ; which if any historian will make, let him not be commended for wit, but shamed for falsehood. If every where I have not charged the margin with the author's names, it is either because the story is author for itself (I mean, generally received), or to avoid the often citing of the same place. Where I could not go abroad myself, there I have taken air at the window, and have cited authors on others' citations ; yet so that the stream may direct to the fountain.

If the reader may reap in few hours what cost me more months, just cause have I to rejoice, and he (I hope) none to complain. Thus may the faults of this book redound to myself, the profit to others, the glory to God.





TO HIS WORTHY AND LEARNED FRIEND,

MR. THOMAS FULLER,

UPON HIS EXCELLENTLY COMPOSED HISTORY OF THE

HOLY WAR. .

CAPTAIN of arts, in this thy Holy War
My muse desires to be thy trumpeter,
In thy just praise to spend a blast or two,
For this is all that she (poor thing) can do.

Peter the Hermit, like an angry owl,
Would needs go fight all armed in his cowl.
What, had the holy man nought else to do,
But thus to lose his blood and credit too?
Seeking to win Christ's sepulchre, God wot,
He found his own; this was the ground he got.
Except he got more ground, when he one day
Besieging Antioch fiercely ran away.
Much wiser was the Pope: at home he stayed,
And made the world believe he wept and prayed.
Meanwhile (behold the fruit of feigned tears)
He sets the world together by the ears.
His head serves him, whilst others use their hands:
Whilst princes lose their lives, he gets their lands.
To win the Holy Land what need kings roam?
The pope can make a Holy Land at home
By making it his own: then for a fashion,
'Tis said to come by Constantine's donation.
For all this fox-craft, I have leave (I hope)
To think my friend far wiser than the pope
And hermit both: he deals in holy wars,
Not as a stickler in those fruitless jars,
But a composer rather: hence this book;
Whereon whilst I with greedy eyes do look,
Methinks I travel through the Holy Land,
Viewing the sacred objects on each hand.
Here mounts (methinks), like Olivet, brave sense;
There flows a Jordan of pure eloquence:
A temple rich in ornament I find
Presented here to my admiring mind.
Strange force of Art! the ruined holy city
Breeds admiration in me now, not pity.
To testify her liking, here my muse
Makes solemn vows, as holy pilgrims use.

I vow, dear friend, the Holy War is here
 Far better writ than ever fought elsewhere.
 Thousands have fought and died : but all this while,
 I vow, there nothing triumphs but thy style.
 Thy wit hath vanquished barbarism more
 Than ever Godfrey's valour did before.
 Might I but choose, I rather would by far
 Be author of thy book than of that war.
 Let others fight; I vow to read thy works,
 Prizing thy ink before the blood of Turks.

J. BOOTH, B. D. C. C. C.

ON THE TITLE OF THIS BOOK.

HOW comes stern war to be accounted holy,
 By nature fierce, complexion melancholy?
 I'll tell you how : sh' has been at Rome of late,
 And gained an indulgence to expiate
 Her massacres ; and by the pope's command
 Sh' has been a pilgrim to the Holy Land,
 Where freeing Christians by a sacred plot,
 She for her pains this epithet hath got.

H. ATKINS.

NOR need Jerusalem, that holy mother,
 Envy old Troy ; since she has found another
 To write her battles, and her wars rehearse
 In prose as elegant as Homer's verse.
 Let Sueton's name august as Cæsar's be ;
 Curtius more worlds than Alexander see ;
 Let Joseph in his country's siege survive,
 And Phoenix-like in his own ashes thrive :
 Thy work great Fuller, will outlive their glory,
 And make thy memory sacred as thy story.
 Thy style is clear and white : thy very name
 Speaks pureness, and adds lustre to the frame.
 All men could wish, nay long, the world would jar,
 So thou'dst be pleased to write, compose the War.

H. HUTTON, M. A. C. Jes.

TO MY FRIEND MR. THOMAS FULLER,

ON HIS BOOK "THE HOLY WAR."

WHILE of thy book I speak, friend, I'll think on
 Thy Jordan for my purest Helicon ;
 And for biforked Parnassus, I will set
 My fancy on the sacred Olivet.

'Tis holy ground which now my measured feet
Must tread on ; then (as in due right 'tis meet)
Let them be bare and plain ; for quainter art
May sacrifice to thee without a heart ;
And while it praiseth this thy work, may preach
His glory, rather than thy merit's reach.

Here, reader, thou mayst judge and well compare
Who most in madness, Jew or Roman, share :
This not so blind, yet in the clearest day
Does stumble still on stocks, on stones, on clay ;
The other will in bright and highest noon
Choose still to walk by glimmering light o' th' moon.
Here thou mayst represented see the fight
Between our earthly flesh and heavenly Sp'rit.
Lo, how the Turk doth drive with flaming sword,
Salvation from him and God's holy word,
As once the angel did rebellious vice
With Adam force from blessed paradise.
And this in style diamond-like doth shine,
Which firmest parts and clearest do combine,
And o'er the sad ground of the Jewish story
As light embroidery explays its glory.
The temple razed and ruined seems more high
In his strong phrase, than when it kissed the sky.
And as the viper, by those precious tears
Which Phaeton bemoaned, of amber wears
A rich (though fatal) coat ; so here enclosed
With words so rare, so splendent, so composed,
E'en Mahomet has found a tomb, which shall
Last when the fainting loadstone lets him fall.

HENRY VINTENER.

TO HIS OLD FRIEND MR. FULLER.

I LOVE no wars,
I love no jars,
Nor strife's fire :
May discords cease ;
Let's live in peace ;
This I desire.

If it must be
Wars we must see
So (fates conspire),
May we not feel
The force of steel ;
This I desire.

But in thy book
 When I do look
 And it admire ;
 Let war be there,
 But peace elsewhere ;
 This I desire.

THO. JACKSON.

TO

HIS WORTHY FRIEND MR. THOMAS FULLER,
 ON HIS BOOK "THE HOLY WAR."

THERE'S not a story, friend, in thy book told,
 But's a jewel ; each line a thread of gold.
 Though war sound harsh, and doth our minds affright,
 Yet clothed in well-wrought language 't doth delight.
 Such is thy gilded phrase, I joy to read
 In thee massacres, and to see men bleed.
 Oft have I seen in hangings on a wall
 The ruins of great Troy, and Priam's fall ;
 A story in itself so full of woe,
 'Twould make the Grecian weep that was the foe ;
 But being wrought in arras, and made gay
 With rich embroidery, 't makes th' beholder say,
 I like it well ; this flame, that scar is good ;
 And then commend : this wound, that stream of blood.
 Things in themselves distasteful, are by art
 Made pleasant, and do much delight the heart.
 Such is thy book ; though it of blood relate
 And horrid war, whose very name we hate,
 Yet clad in arras-language and thy phrase,
 Doth not affright, but with delight amaze,
 And with such power upon our senses seize,
 That 't makes war dreadful in itself, to please.

WILLIAM JOHNSON, Q. Coll.

TO HIS DEAR FRIEND MR. FULLER.

WE need not now those zealous votaries meet,
 Or pilgrims turn ; but on our verses' feet.
 Thy quill hath winged the earth ; the Holy Land
 Doth visit us, commanded by thy hand.
 If envy make thy labours prove thy loss,
 No marvel if a crusade wear the cross.

CLEMENT BRETTON, Sidn. Coll.



THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY WAR.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.—*The Destruction of the City and Temple of Jerusalem by the Romans, under the Conduct of Titus.*

WHEN the Jews had made the full measure of their sins run over, by putting to death the Lord of Life [A. D. 34], God's judgments (as they deserved, and our Saviour foretold) quickly overtook them; for a mighty army of the Romans besieged and sacked the city of Jerusalem [72], wherein by fire, famine, sword, civil discord, and foreign force¹, eleven hundred thousand were put to death. An incredible number it seemeth: yet it cometh within the compass of our belief, if we consider that the siege began at the time of the passover, when in a manner all Judea was enclosed in Jerusalem, all private synagogues doing then their duties to the mother temple; so that the city then had more guests than inhabitants. Thus the passover, first² instituted by God in mercy to save the Israelites from death, was now used by him in justice to hasten their destruction, and to gather the nation into a bundle to be cast into the fire of his anger. Besides those who were slain, ninety-seven thousand were taken captives; and they who had bought our Saviour for thirty pence³ were themselves sold thirty for a penny. The general of the Romans in this action was Titus, son to Vespasian the emperor: a prince so good, that he was styled the *Darling of Mankind*⁴ for

¹ Josephus, lib. 7, Belli Jud. Gr. c. 45, Lat. c. 17.

² Exod. xii. 13.

³ Adricom. in Actis Apost. fol. 282, credo, ex Hegesippo.

⁴ Suetonius in Tито.

his sweet and loving nature (and pity it was so good a stock had not been better grafted), so virtuously disposed, that he may justly be counted the glory of all Pagans, and shame of most Christians. He laboured what lay in his power to have saved the temple, and many therein; but the Jews, by their obstinacy and desperateness, made themselves incapable of any mercy. Then was the temple itself made a sacrifice, and burnt to ashes; and of that stately structure, which drew the apostles' admiration, not a stone left upon a stone. The walls of the city (more shaken with the sins of the Jews defending them, than with the battering rams of the Romans assaulting them) were levelled to the ground; only three towers left standing, to witness the great strength of the place, and greater valour of the Romans who conquered it. But whilst this storm fell on the unbelieving Jews, it was calm amongst the Christians; who, warned by Christ's predictions, and many other prodigies, fled betimes out of the city to Pella (a private place beyond Jordan), which served them instead of a little Zoar, to save them from the imminent destruction⁵.

CHAP. II.—*How Judea was dispeopled of Jews by Adrian the Emperor.*

THREESCORE years after [132], Adrian the emperor rebuilt the city of Jerusalem, changing the situation somewhat westward, and the name thereof to Ælia. To despite the Christians, he built a temple¹ over our Saviour's grave, with the images of Jupiter and Venus; another at Bethlehem, to Adonis her minion: and to enrage the Jews, did engrave swine over the gates of the city: who, storming at the profanation of their land, brake into open rebellion, but were subdued by Julius Severus, the emperor's lieutenant, an experienced captain, and many thousands slain, with Bencochab, their counterfeit Messias (for so he termed himself), that is, the *son of a star*, usurping that prophecy, *Out of Jacob shall a star arise*²; though he proved but a fading comet, whose blazing portended the ruin of that nation. The captives, by order from Adrian, were transported into Spain; the country laid waste, which parted with her people and fruitfulness both together. Indeed pilgrims to this day here and there light on parcels of rich ground in Palestine; which God may seem to have left,

⁵ Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 3, c. 5.

¹ Hieron. tom. 1, p. 104.

² Num. xxiv. 17.

that men may taste the former sweetness of the land, before it was soured for the people's sins; and that they may guess the goodness of the cloth by the fineness of the shreds. But it is barren for the generality: the streams of milk and honey, wherewith once it flowed, are now drained dry; and the whole face of the land looketh sad³, not so much for want of dressing, as because God hath frowned on it. Yet great was the oversight of Adrian, thus totally to unpeople a province, and to bequeath it to foxes and leopards. Though his memory was excellent, yet here he forgot the old Romans' rule, who, to prevent desolations, where they rooted out the natives, planted in colonies of their own people. And surely the country recovered not a competency of inhabitants for some hundred years after. For though many pilgrims came thither in after ages, yet they came rather to visit than to dwell; and such as remained there, most embracing single lives, were no breeders for posterity. If any say that Adrian did wilfully neglect this land, and prostitute it to ruin for the rebellion of the people; yet all account it small policy in him, in punishing the Jews, to hurt his own empire, and by this vastation to leave fair and clear footing for foreign enemies to fasten on this country, and from thence to invade the neighbouring dominions: as, after, the Persians and Saracens easily overran and dispeopled Palestine; and no wonder if a thin meadow were quickly mown. But to return to the Jews, such stragglers of them, not considerable in number, as escaped this banishment into Spain (for few hands reap so clean as to leave no gleanings), were forbidden to enter into Jerusalem, or so much as to behold it from any rise or advantage of ground. Yet they obtained⁴ of the after emperors, once a year (namely, on the tenth of August, whereon their city was taken), to go in and bewail the destruction of their temple and people, bargaining with the soldiers who waited on them, to give so much for so long abiding there; and if they exceeded the time they conditioned for, they must stretch their purses to a higher rate: so that (as St. Hierome noteth) they who bought Christ's blood were then glad to buy their own tears.

³ Sand. Trav. p. 145.

⁴ Hieron. tom. 6, p. 256.

CHAP. III.—*Of the present woful Condition of the Jews; and of the small Hope and great Hinderances of their Conversion.*

THUS the main body of the Jews was brought into Spain, and yet they stretched their out-limbs into every country; so that it was as hard to find a populous city without a common sink, as without a company of Jews. They grew fat on the barest pasture, by usury and brokage; though often squeezed by those Christians amongst whom they lived, counting them dogs, and therefore easily finding a stick to beat them. And always in any tumult, when the fence of order was broken, the Jews lay next harms: as at the coronation of Richard the First, when the English made great feasts, but the pillaged Jews paid the shot. At last, for their many villanies (as falsifying of coin, poisoning of springs, crucifying of Christian children) they were slain in some places¹, and finally banished out of others; out of England, A. D. 1291, by Edward the First; France, 1307, by Philip the Fair; Spain, 1492, by Ferdinand; Portugal, 1497, by Emmanuel². But had these two latter kings banished all Jewish blood out of their countries, they must have emptied the veins of their best subjects, as descended from them. Still they are found in great numbers in Turkey, chiefly in Salonichi, where they enjoy the freest slavery: and they who in our Saviour's time so scorned publicans, are now most employed in that office, to be the Turks' tollgatherers³; likewise in the popish parts of Germany; in Poland, the Pantheon of all religions; and Amsterdam may be forfeited to the king of Spain, when she cannot show a pattern of this as of all other sects. Lastly, they are thick in the pope's dominions, where they are kept as a testimony of the truth of the Scriptures, and foil to Christianity, but chiefly in pretence to convert them. But his holiness's converting faculty worketh the strongest at the greatest distance; for the Indians he turneth to his religion, and these Jews he converteth to his profit. Some are of opinion of the general calling of the Jews; and no doubt those who dissent from them in their judgments, concur in their wishes and desires. Yet are there three grand hinderances of their conversion: first, the offence taken and given by the papists among whom they live, by their wor-

¹ Munster Cosmogr. p. 457.

² Polyd. Virg. p. 327.

³ Sandys' Trav. p. 146.

shipping of images, the Jews being zealots in the second commandment: secondly, because on their conversion they must renounce all their goods as ill gotten⁴; and they will scarce enter in at the door of our church, when first they must climb over so high a threshold: lastly, they are debarred from the use of the New Testament, the means of their salvation. And thus we leave them in a state most pitiful, and little pitied.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the flourishing Church in Judea under Constantine. Julian's Success in building the Temple.*

ADRIAN'S profanation of Jerusalem lasted one hundred and eighty years, as St. Hierome counteth it¹: during which time the Christians, under the ten persecutions, had scarce a leap-year of peace and quiet, and yet bare all with invincible patience; yea, some were too ambitious of martyrdom, and rather wooed than waited for their own deaths. At last, Constantine (a Britain by birth, as all authors agree², save one or two late wrangling Grecians, who deserve to be arraigned for felony, for robbing our land of that due honour) stanch'd the issue of blood wherewith the church had long been troubled, and brought her into acquaintance with peace and prosperity [326]. Then Helen, his mother (no less famous amongst the Christians for her piety, than the ancient Helen amongst Pagans for her beauty), travelled to Jerusalem; zeal made her scarce sensible of her age, being eighty years old; and there she purged Mount Calvary and Bethlehem of idolatry; then built in the places of Christ's birth and burial, and elsewhere in Palestine, many most stately and sumptuous churches. And because she visited the stable and manger of our Saviour's nativity, Jews and Pagans slander her to have been *stabularia*³, an ostleress, or a she stable groom: the same nickname which since impudent papists (not for the same reason, but with as little truth) put on reverend Cranmer⁵, archbishop of Canterbury. But these dead flies were not able to corrupt the sweet ointment of her name, fragrant to posterity; and as a father⁶ writeth of her, *Bona stabularia, quæ maluit æstimari stercoraria ut Christum*

⁴ P. Heylin, *Microcos. in Palestine*, p. 570. Sir Ed. Sandys' *Survey of the West*.

¹ *Epist. ad Paulinum*, tom. 1, p. 104.

² Camden, *Brit.* p. 51. ³ Ambros. cont. in *Theodosium*.

⁵ Fox, *Martyrol.* p. 1860.

⁶ Ambros. *ibid.*

lucriferet. To her is ascribed the finding out of the cross, the memory whereof is celebrated the third of May: and from that time the church flourished in Palestine, being as well provided of able bishops, as they of liberal maintenance.

— 363]. Afterwards Julian, going about to confute God, befooled himself and many Jews. This apostate studied to invent engines to beat down Christianity: yet all the vapours of his brain could not cloud so bright a sun. He gave the Jews liberty (not so much out of love to them as hatred to Christians), with money and materials, to build again their temple, hoping, by raising it, to ruin the truth of Christ's prophecy. Hither⁶ flocked the Jews, with spades and mattocks of silver, to clear the foundation; the women carried away the rubbish in their laps, and contributed all their jewels and ornaments to advance the work. But a sudden tempest⁷ made them desist, which carried away their tools and materials, with balls of fire which scorched the most adventurous of the builders. Thus they who sought to put out the truth of Christ's words, by snuffing it made it burn the brighter. But the wonder of this wonder was, that the hearts of the Jews, and of him who set them on work, were hardened by obstinacy to be so miracle-proof that all this made no impression on them. Yet afterwards⁸ the Christians, in the place where Solomon's temple was, built a stately church; but not in opposition to God, or with intent to reestablish Jewish rites, but in humility, and for the exercise of Christian religion: which church was long after the seat of the patriarch. But for fear to exceed the commission of an historian (who with the outward senses may only bring in the *species*, and barely relate facts, not with the common sense pass verdict or censure on them); I would say, they had better have built in some other place (especially having room enough besides), and left this floor, where the temple stood, alone to her desolations. Yea, God seemeth not so well contented with this their act, the Christians being often beaten out of that church; and at this day⁹ whosoever (though casually) entereth therein, must either forfeit his life or renounce his religion.

⁶ Ammianus Marcel. lib. 23, sub initio.

⁷ Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3, cap. 20. Theodoret, lib. 3, cap. 20. Sozom. lib. 5, cap. 22.

⁸ Adricom. Descript. Terræ Sanctæ, p. 158.

⁹ Sand. Trav. p. 192.

CHAP. V.—*Syria conquered by Chosroes; Chosroes, by Heraclius the Grecian Emperor.*

THE next remarkable alteration happened under Phocas the emperor, who (saith Tyrius¹) had a nature answering his name, which signifieth a seal, or sea-calf; for as that fish (little better than a monster) useth lazily to lie sleeping and sunning itself on the shore, so this careless usurper minded nothing but his own ease and pleasure, till at last he was slain by Heraclius, his successor [610]; as seldom tyrants' corpses have any other balm at their burial than their own blood. Phocas's negligence betrayed the empire to foreign foes [615], and invited Chosroes, the Persian, to invade it, who, with a great army, subdued Syria and Jerusalem. A conquest little honourable, as made against small resistance, and used with less moderation; for, besides many other cruelties, he sold many thousands of Christians to the Jews, their old enemies², who, in revenge of their former grudge, put them not only to drudgery, but to torture. Chosroes, to grace his triumph, carried the cross away with him, forced all the Christians in Persia to turn Nestorians³, and demanded of Heraclius, the Grecian emperor, that he should renounce his religion, and worship the sun⁴. Thus we see how lightheaded this Pagan did talk, being stark drunk with pride. But the Christian emperor, entering Persia with great forces, quelled at last this vaunting Sennacherib; for to him might he well be compared, for pride, cruelty, blasphemous demands, and the manner of his death, being also slain by Siroes, one of his sons [628]. Heraclius, returning, took Jerusalem in his way, and there restored⁵ the cross (counted a precious jewel) to the temple of the sepulchre, the cabinet whence it had been violently taken away; and, in memorial thereof, instituted, on the fourteenth of September, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. Yet⁶ some make the celebration thereof of greater antiquity; and the Grecians write, that Chrysostom (a hundred years before) died on the day called the Exaltation of the Cross. This, if it be true, and not antedated by a prolepsis, then Heraclius gave the lustre (not first original) to this festival, and scoured bright an old holy-day with a new solemnity.

¹ Belli Sacri, lib. 23, cap. 21. ² Theophanes in Annal.

³ Paulus Diaconus, Miscel. lib. 18.

⁴ Cedrenus.

⁵ Tyrius, Bell. Sacr. lib. 23, cap. 20. ⁶ Baron. Mart. 14 Sept.

CHAP. VI.—*Of the Deluge of the Saracens in Syria, the Causes of the far spreading of Mahometanism.*

BUT the sins of the eastern countries, and chiefly their damnable heresies, hastened God's judgments upon them. In these western parts, heresies, like an angle, caught single persons; which in Asia, like a drag-net, took whole provinces. The staid and settled wits of Europe were not easily removed out of the old road and track of religion, whilst the active and nimble heads of the east were more desirous of novelties, more cunning to invent distinctions to cozen themselves with, more fluent in language to express their conceits, as always errors grow the fastest in hot brains. Hence it came to pass, that Melchites, Maronites, Nestorians, Eutycheans, Jacobites, overspread these parts, maintaining their pestilent tenets with all obstinacy, which is that dead flesh which maketh the green wound of an error fester by degrees into the old sore of an heresy. Then was it just with God to suffer them, who would not be convinced with Christian counsels, to be subdued by the Pagans' sword: for though Chosroes had not long a settled government in Palestine, but, as a land flood, came and went away quickly, yet the Saracens, who shortly followed, as standing water, drowned all for a long continuance [636]. These¹, under Haumer, Prince of Arabia, took Jerusalem, conquered Syria, and propagated the doctrine of Mahomet round about.

It may justly seem admirable how that senseless religion should gain so much ground on Christianity; especially having neither real substance in her doctrine, nor winning behaviour in her ceremonies to allure professors. For what is it but the scum of Judaism and Paganism sod together, and here and there strewed over with a spice of Christianity? As Mahomet's tomb, so many sentences in his Alcoran seem to hang by some secret loadstone, which draweth together their gaping independences with a mystical coherence, or otherwise they are flat nonsense. Yet this wonder of the spreading of this leprosy is lessened, if we consider that, besides the general causes of the growing of all errors (namely, the gangrene-like nature of evil, and the justice of God to deliver them over to believe lies who will not obey the truth), Mahometanism hath raised itself to this height by some peculiar advantages: first, by permitting much

¹ Tyrius, Bell. Sacr. lib. 1, p. 2.

carnal liberty to the professors (as having many wives), and no wonder if they get fish enough that use that bait: secondly, by promising a paradise of sensual pleasure hereafter, wherewith flesh and blood is more affected (as falling under her experience) than with hope of any spiritual delights: thirdly, by prohibiting of disputes, and suppressing of all learning; and thus Mahomet made his shop dark on purpose, that he might vent any wares: lastly, this religion had never made her own passage so fast and so far, if the sword had not cut the way before her, as commonly the conquered follow, for the most part, the religion of the conquerors. By this means that cursed doctrine hath so improved itself, that it may outvie with professors the church of Rome, which boasteth so much of her latitude and extent; though from thence to infer that her faith is the best, is falsely to conclude the fineness of the cloth from the largeness of the measure.

Now the condition of the Christians under these Saracens was as uncertain as April weather. Sometimes they enjoyed the liberty and public exercise of their religion: and to give the Mahometans their due, they are generally good fellows in this point, and Christians amongst them may keep their consciences free, if their tongues be fettered not to oppose the doctrine of Mahomet. Sometimes they were under fierce and cruel affliction, their bishops and ministers forced to fly from their places were kept very poor, as always the clergy under persecution count that God gives them living enough, when he gives them their lives. Tyrius² mentioneth one memorable massacre, which they narrowly escaped: for a spiteful and malicious Saracen had secretly defiled one of their mosques in Jerusalem; which deed being imputed to the poor Christians, they were all presently dragged to the place of execution to be put to death, when behold a young man, a zealous Christian, by an officious lie (the most lawful of all unlawful things), confessed himself alone to be guilty of the fact, and so, being killed by exquisite torments, saved the lives of many innocents. In memory of which act, the Christians in Jerusalem kept a constant solemnity, and once a year triumphantly marched, with palms in their hands, into the city, to perpetuate the remembrance of this deliverance [800]. The longest vacation from persecution they enjoyed was when Charles³ was Emperor of the West, surnamed the Great; a surname

² Lib. 1, cap. 5.³ Tyrius, lib. 1, cap. 3.

which he did not steal, but justly win and deserve; not like Pompey, who got the title of the Great, though, as Cæsar⁴ observed, he gained his chief fame for martial feats by conquering the weak and cowardly Bithynians. But this Charles, loved of his friends, feared of his foes, subdued the strong and lusty Lombards: yet did he not Christianity more good by his war, than by his peace concluded with Aaron, emperor of the Saracens, under whom the Christians in Palestine obtained many privileges and much prosperity; though this weather was too fair to last long.

CHAP. VII.—*The Original and Increase of the Turks; their conquering the Saracens, and taking of Jerusalem.*

BUT the Christians in Palestine afterward changed their masters, though not their condition, being subdued by the Turks. It will be worth our and the reader's pains to inquire into the original of this nation, especially because (as the river Nilus) they are famous and well known for their overflowing stream, though hidden and obscure for their fountain. Whence they first came, authors only do agree in disagreeing: but most probably it is out of Scythia, Pomponius Mela¹ reckoning them among the inhabitants of that country nigh the river Tanais. This Scythia (since called Tartaria) was a virgin country, never forced by foreign arms; for the monarchs who counted themselves conquerors of the world (by a large synecdoche taking a sixth part for the whole) never subdued it. Alexander sent some troops to assault Naura and Gabaza, two out-counties thereof, as an earnest that the rest of his army should follow: but hearing how these were welcomed, willingly lost his earnest, and disposed of his army otherwise. The Roman eagles flew not thus far, and though heard of, were never seen here. The reason that made the Turks leave their native soil was the barrenness thereof; and therefore the poet² maketh famine (which sometimes travellet abroad into other countries) here to have her constant habitation. And yet, no doubt, so vast a country would maintain her people, if the wildness thereof were tamed with husbandry: but the people (scorning that their ground should be better civilized than themselves) never manure it, and had rather provide their bread with the sword than with the plough. Other partial causes might

⁴ Suetonius, in Cæsare.

¹ Lib. 1, cap. ult.

² Ovid. 8 Metam.

share in these Turks' removal ; but the cause of causes was the justice of God, to suffer this unregarded people to grow into the terror of the world for the punishment of Christians : and we may justly hope, that when the correction is done, the rod shall be burnt ; especially finding already their force to abate, being at this day stopped with the half kingdom of Hungary, who formerly could not be stayed by the whole empire of Greece.

844]. The first step these Turks took out of their own country was into Turcomania³, a northern part of Armenia, conquered and so called by them ; where they lived like the Scythian nomades, always wandering, yet always in their way, none claiming a propriety in the land as his, all defending the common interest therein as theirs.

The next step was into Persia, whither they were called to assist Mahomet, the Saracen sultan, against his enemies ; where taking notice of their own strength, the Saracens' cowardice, and the pleasure of Persia, they, under Tangrolipix their first king, overcame that large dominion⁴ [1030]. Then did the Turks take upon them the Mahometan religion, and, having conquered the Saracens by their valour, were themselves subdued by the Saracen superstition : an accident more memorable, because not easily to be paralleled (excepting King Amaziah⁵, who having taken Edom was took with the idolatry thereof), because conquerors commonly bring their religion into the places they subdue, and not take it thence.

Their third large stride was into Babylon, the caliph whereof they overcame. And shortly after, under Cutlumuses their second king, they won Mesopotamia, the greatest part of Syria, and the city of Jerusalem⁶ [1060]. Meantime whilst these vultures (Turks and Saracens) pecked out each other's eyes, the Christians (if they had husbanded this occasion) might much have advantaged themselves, and might have recovered their health by these contrary poisons expelling each other. But the Grecian emperors, given over to pleasure and covetousness, regarded not their own good, till at last the Turks devoured them ; as (God willing) shall be showed hereafter. As for those Christians who lived in Palestine under the Turks, they had no lease of their safety, but were tenants at will for their lives and goods to these tyrants : though it rained not downright, yet the storm

³ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 2.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxv. 14.

⁴ Knolles, Tur. Hist. p. 4.

⁶ Tyrius, lib. 1, cap. 7.

of persecution hung over their heads; their minds were ever in torture, being on the rack of continual fear and suspense; and Simon himself was no better than an honourable slave, though patriarch of Jerusalem, as appeareth by his letters of complaint⁷.

CHAP. VIII.—*The Character of Peter the Hermit. His soliciting the Holy War. The Council at Clermont, and the Success thereof.*

IT happened there came a pilgrim to Jerusalem called Peter, a hermit, born at Amiens, in France, one of a contemptible person; his silly looks carried in them a despair of any worth, and yet (as commonly the richest mines lie under the basest and barrenest surface of ground) he had a quick apprehension, eloquent tongue, and, what got him the greatest repute, was accounted very religious. With him Simon, the patriarch of Jerusalem, often treated, concerning the present miseries of the Christians under the Turks; what hope of amendment; and how the matter might secretly be contrived, that the princes in Europe might assist and relieve them. Peter, moved with the patriarch's persuasions, the equity and honourableness of the cause, and chiefly with a vision (as they say) from heaven¹ (wherein our Saviour himself appointed him his legate, with a commission to negotiate the Christian cause), took the whole business upon him [1094], and travelled to Rome, to consult with Pope Urban the Second about the advancing of so pious a design.

Now, though many cry up this hermit to have been so precious a piece of holiness, yet some² suspect him to be little better than a counterfeit, and a cloak-father for a plot of the pope's begetting; because the pope alone was the gainer by this great adventure, and all other princes of Europe, if they cast up their audit, shall find themselves losers: this with some is a presumption that this cunning merchant first secretly employed this hermit to be his factor, and to go to Jerusalem to set on foot so beneficial a trade for the Romish church. As for the apparition of our Saviour, one may wonder that the world should see most visions when it was most blind; and that that age, most barren in learning, should be most fruitful in revelations. And surely had

⁷ Knolles, Tur. Hist. p. 13.

¹ Tyrius, lib. 1. cap. 12.

² Ursperg. Chron, p. 227. Quem tamen postea multi hypocritam fuisse dicebant.

Peter been truly inspired by God, and moved by his Spirit to begin this war, he would not have apostated from his purpose: so mortified a man would not have feared death in a good cause, as he did afterwards, and basely ran away from Antioch³. For when the siege grew hot, his devotion grew cold; he found a difference betwixt a voluntary fast in his cell, and a necessary and indispensable famine in a camp; so that being well hunger-pinched, this cunning companion, who was the trumpet to sound a march to others, secretly sounded a retreat to himself, ran away from the rest of the Christians, and was shamefully brought back again for a fugitive⁴.

(But to return to Pope Urban, who was zealous in the cause to further it, and called a council at Clermont, in France [1095], where met many princes and prelates, to whom he made a long oration⁵.) Authors differ in the mould, but they agree in the metal, that it was to this effect:—First, he bemoaned the miseries of the Christians in Asia, and the vastation of those holy places. Jerusalem, which was once the joy of the whole earth, was now become the grief of all good men. The chapel of Christ's conception, at Nazareth; birth, at Bethlehem; burial, on Mount Calvary; ascension, on Mount Olivet; once the fountains of piety, were now become the sinks of all profaneness. Next, he encouraged the princes in the council to take arms against those infidels, and⁶ to break their bonds in sunder, and to cast their cords far from them, and (as it is written) to cast out the handmaid and her children. Otherwise, if they would not help to quench their neighbours' houses, they must expect the speedy burning of their own, and that these barbarous nations would quickly overrun all Europe. Now to set an edge on their courage, he promised to all that went this voyage a full remission of their sins and penance here, and the enjoying heaven hereafter. (Lastly, thus concluded⁷:—"Gird your swords to your thighs, O ye men of might. It is our parts to pray, yours to fight; ours with Moses to hold up unwearied hands to God, yours to stretch forth the sword against these children of Amalek. Amen.")

³ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 3, col. 357. Et Æmilius, Digest. Franc. 123, in Philippo I.

⁴ Ut desertor signorum, fratrum commilitonumque proditor.

⁵ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 3. Tyrius, lib. 1, cap. 15. Baron. anno 1095. W. Malmsb. lib. 4, cap. 1. All have several set variations.

⁶ Baronius, in anno 1095, col. 688.

⁷ Baronius, in anno 1096, col. 691.

It is above belief with what cheerfulness this motion, meeting with an active and religious world, was generally entertained; so that the whole assembly cried out⁸, “God will do it:” a speech which was afterwards used as a fortunate watchword in their most dangerous designs. Then took many of them a cross of red cloth on their right shoulder, as a badge of their devotion; and to gain the favourable assistance of the Virgin Mary to make this war the more happy, her office⁹ was instituted, containing certain prayers, which at canonical hours were to be made unto her. If fame, which hath told many a lie of others, be not herein belied herself, the things concluded in this council were the same night reported at impossible distance in the utmost parts of Christendom. What spiritual intelligencers there should be, or what echoes in the hollow arch of this world should so quickly resound news from the one side thereof to the other, belongeth not to us to dispute. Yet we find the overthrow¹⁰ of Perseus brought out of Macedon to Rome in four days; and fame (mounted no doubt on some Pegasus), in Domitian’s time, brought a report two thousand five hundred miles in one day.

CHAP. IX.—*Arguments for the Lawfulness of the Holy War.*

IT is stiffly canvassed betwixt learned men, whether this war was lawful or not. The reasons for the affirmative are fetched either from piety or policy; and of the former sort are these:

1. All the earth is God’s land let out to tenants; but Judea was properly his demesnes, which he kept long in his own hands for himself and his children. Now though the infidels had since violently usurped it, yet no prescription of time could prejudice the title of the King of Heaven, but that now the Christians might be God’s champions to recover his interest.

2. Religion bindeth men to relieve their brethren in distress, especially when they implore their help, as now the Christians in Syria did¹; whose entreaties in this case sounded commands in the ears of such as were piously disposed.

3. The Turks, by their blasphemies and reproaches against God and our Saviour, had disinherited and divested

⁸ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 3, page 354.

⁹ Baronius, tom. 11, p. 692.

¹⁰ Livius, lib. 45.

¹ Tyrius, lib. 1, cap. 11.

themselves of all their right to their lands; and the Christians, as the next undoubted heirs, might seize on the forfeiture.

4. This war would advance and increase the patriotism of religion, by propagating the gospel, and converting of infidels. If any object that religion is not to be beaten into men with the dint of sword; yet it may be lawful to open the way by force, for instruction, catechising, and such other gentle means to follow after.

5. The beholding of those sacred places in Palestine would much heighten the adventurers' devotion, and make the most frozen heart to melt into pious meditations.

6. This enterprise² was furthered by the persuasions of sundry godly men, St. Bernard and others. Now though a dying spirit may delude the prophets of Ahab, yet none will be so uncharitable as to think God would suffer his own Micaiah to be deceived.

6. God³ set his hand to this war, and approved it by many miracles which he wrought in this expedition, and which are so confidently and generally reported by credit-worthy writers, that he himself is a miracle that will not believe them.

Neither want there arguments derived from policy.

1. Palestine was a parcel of the Roman empire, though since won by the Saracens; and though the Emperor of Constantinople could not recover his right, yet did he always continue his claim, and now (as appeared⁴ by his letters read in the Placentine council) Alexius requested these princes of the west to assist him in the recovery hereof.

2. A preventive war, grounded on a just fear of an invasion, is lawful; but such was this holy war. And because most stress is laid on this argument, as the main supporter of the cause, we will examine and prove the parts hereof.

Though umbrages and light jealousies, created by cowardly fancies, be too narrow to build a fair quarrel on, yet the lawfulness of a preventive war, founded on just fear, is warranted by reason and the practice of all wise nations. In such a case, it is folly to do as country fellows in a fence school, never ward a blow till it be past; but it is best to be beforehand with the enemy, lest the medicine come too late

² Bellarm. lib. 3, de Rom. Pont. cap. 17.

³ Ibidem.

⁴ Baronius, tom. 11, p. 687.

for the malady. In such dangers to play an after game is rather a shift than a policy, especially seeing war is a tragedy which always destroyeth the stage whereon it is acted. It is the most advised way not to wait for the enemy, but to seek him out in his own country.

Now, that the Mahometans (under whom the Turks and Saracens are comprehended, differing in nation, agreeing in religion and spite against Christians) were now justly to be feared, cannot be denied. So vast was the appetite of their sword, that it had already devoured Asia, and now reserved Grecia for the second course. The Bosphorus was too narrow a ditch, and the empire of Grecia too low a hedge, to fence the Pagans out of West Christendom; yea, the Saracens had lately wasted Italy⁵, pillaged and burned many churches near Rome itself, conquered Spain, inroaded Aquitain, and possessed some islands in the midland-sea. The case, therefore, standing thus, this holy war was both lawful and necessary; which like unto a sharp pike in the boss of a buckler, though it had a mixture of offending, yet it was chiefly of a defensive nature, to which all preventive wars are justly reduced.

Lastly, this war would be the sewer of Christendom, and drain all discords out of it. For active men, like millstones in motion, if they have no other grist to grind, will set fire one on another. Europe at this time surfeited with people, and many of them were of stirring natures, who counted themselves undone when they were out of doing, and therefore they employed themselves in mutual jars and contentions; but now this holy war will make up all breaches, and unite all their forces against the common foe of Christianity.

CHAP. X.—*Reasons against the Holy War.*

YET all these reasons prevail not so forcibly, but that many are of the contrary opinion¹, and count this war both needless and unlawful, induced thereunto with these or the like arguments.

1. When the Jews were no longer God's people, Judea was no longer God's land by any peculiar approbation; but on the other side, God stamped on that country-an in-

⁵ Sabel. Enn. 9, lib. 3, p. 354.

¹ Joh. Cammanus, De Jure Majest. Thes. 22. Et Albert Aqu. Chro. Hieros. lib. 4, cap. 28. Et Reineccius in Præf. Hist. Orient.

delible character of desolation, and so scorched it with his anger that it will never change colour, though Christians should wash it with their blood. It is labour in vain, therefore, for any to endeavour to reestablish a flourishing kingdom in a blasted country; and let none ever look to reap any harvest who sow that land which God will have to lie fallow.

2. ~~Grant the Turks were no better than dogs, yet were~~ they to be let alone in their own kennel. They and the Saracens, their predecessors, had now enjoyed Palestine four hundred and sixty years: prescription long enough to solder the most cracked title, and not only to corroborate but to create a right. Yea, God himself may seem herein to allow their title, by suffering them so long peaceably to enjoy it.

3. To visit those places in Jerusalem (the theatre of so many mysteries and miracles) was as useless as difficult, and might be superstitious if any went (as it is to be feared too many did) with placing transcendent holiness in that place, and with a wooden devotion to the material cross. The angel² sent the women away from looking into the sepulchre with *He is risen, he is not here*; and thereby did dehort them and us from burying our affections in Christ's grave, but rather to seek him where he was to be found. At this day a gracious heart maketh every place a Jerusalem, where God may as well and as acceptably be worshiped. St. Hilarion³, though he lived in Palestine, saw Jerusalem but once, and then only because he might not seem to neglect the holy places for their nearness and vicinity. And St. Hierom (though himself lived at Bethlehem) dissuaded Paulinus from coming thither, for the pains would be above the profit.

4. Lastly, this war was a quicksand to swallow treasure, and of a hot digestion to devour valiant men; no good, much evil, came thereby: and the Christians that went out to seek an enemy in Asia, brought one thence, to the danger of all Europe, and the loss of a fair part thereof. For though

————— *Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat :*

————— may he never speed,
Who from the issue censures of the deed :

² Matt. xxviii. 6.

³ Hieron. tom. 1, p. 103, in Epist. ad Paulinum.

and though an argument fetched from the success is but a cipher in itself, yet it increaseth a number when joined with others.

These reasons have moved the most moderate⁴ and refined papists, and all protestants generally, in their judgments to fight against this holy war. But as for the opinion of Bibliander (who therein stands without company) if Bel-larmine hath truly reported it⁵, it is as far from reason as charity; namely, that these Christians that went to fight against the Saracens were the very army of Gog and Magog spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel⁶. Yet must we not here forget, that such as at this time went to Jerusalem (whether ridiculously or blasphemously, or both, let others judge) did carry a goose before them⁷, pretending it to be the Holy Ghost.

CHAP. XI.—*The private Ends and Profits of the Pope, which he is charged by Authors to have had in this Holy War.*

IT is enough with some to make it suspicious that there were some sinister ends in this war, because Gregory the Seventh, otherwise called Hildebrand (and by Luther *Larva diaboli*¹), the worst of all that sat in that chair, first began it; but death preventing him, Urban the Second (whom Cardinal Benno called Turban², for troubling the whole world) effected it. And though the pretences were pious and plausible, yet no doubt the thoughts of his holiness began where other men's ended, and he had a privy project beyond the public design:

First, to reduce the Grecians into subjection to himself³, with their three patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople; and to make the eastern church a chapel of ease to the mother church of Rome.

Secondly, this war was the pope's house of correction, whither he sent his sturdy and stubborn enemies to be tamed. Such high-spirited men whom he either feared or suspected, he condemned to this employment, as to an honourable banishment; and as Saul being afraid of David sent him to fight against the Philistines, that so he might fall by their sword; so the pope had this cleanly and un-

⁴ Vide Besoldum, De Regibus Hieros. p. 99, et sequentibus.

⁵ Lib. 3, De Rom. Pon. cap. 17.

⁶ Ezek. xxxviii. 3.

⁷ Aventinus, lib. 5, Annal.

¹ In his Chronology.

² Balæus, in Rom. Pont. in Urban. 2.

³ Mat. Dress. De Bello Sacr. cited by Lampadius Mellific. histor. part 3, p. 266.

suspected conveyance to rid away those he hated⁴, by sending them against infidels. This appeared most plainly in the matter of the emperor himself, whom he sent from home, that so he might rob his house in his absence. At the beginning of this war the pope's temporal power in Italy was very slender, because the emperor's dominions did gird him close and hard on all sides; but soon after he grew within short time without all measure, and did lurch a castle here, gain a city there, from the emperor, while he was employed in Palestine; so that by the time that the Christians had lost all in Syria, the emperor has lost all in Italy; his dominions there being either swallowed up by Peter's patrimony, or by private princes and upstart free states, which as so many splinters flew out of the broken empire.

Thirdly, hereby the pope determined on his side the gainfullest controversy that ever was in Christendom. This was about the investiture of bishops, whether the right lay in the pope or in secular princes. Now his holiness diverted this question out of princes' heads by opening an issue another way, and gave vent to the activity of their spirits in this martial employment, and in the mean time quietly went away without any corrival, concluding the controversy for his own profit.

Lastly, he got a mass of money by it. He had the office to bear the bag, and what was put into it, as contributed to this action from pious people, and expended but some few drops of the showers he received. Guess the rest of his griping tricks from this one which Matth. Paris reporteth⁵. First, he prompted many people in England unfit for arms to take upon them to vow to go to the holy war, and this was done by the exhortation and preaching of the friars. This done, he compelled and forced those votaries (whose purses were more useful for this service than their persons) to commute their journey into money, the payment whereof should be as meritorious as their pilgrimage. And thus scraped he a mass of coin from such silly people as thought themselves cleansed of their sins when they were wiped of their money, and who, having made themselves slaves to the pope by their rash vow, were glad to buy their liberty at his price.

⁴ See Daniel, in Henry the Third, p. 141.

⁵ Hist. Angl. pp. 702 et 703, *Diversis muscipulis simplicem Dei populum substantiâ suâ moliebatur Romana curia privare, nihil petens nisi aurum et argentum.*

As the pope, so most of the clergy improved their estates by this war; for the secular princes who went this voyage sold or mortgaged most of their means (selling for gold to purchase with steel and iron), and the clergy were generally their chapmen. For they advised these undertakers, seeing this action was for Christ and his church, rather to make over their estates to spiritual men, of whom they might again redeem the same, and from whom they should be sure to find the fairest dealing, than to laymen. Godfrey, duke of Bouillon⁶, sold that dukedom to the bishop of Liege; and the castle of Sartensy and Monsa, to the bishop of Verdun. Baldwin, his brother, sold him the city of Verdun. Yea, by these sales the third part⁷ of the best feoffs in France came to be possessed by the clergy, who made good bargains for themselves, and had the conscience to buy earth cheap, and to sell heaven dear. Yea, this voyage laid the foundation of their temporal greatness, till at last the daughter devoured the mother, and wealth impaired religion.

CHAP. XII.—*The Quality and Condition of those People who undertook the War.*

IT is not to be expected that all should be fish which is caught in a drag-net, neither that all should be good and religious people who were adventurers in an action of so large a capacity as this war was. We must in charity allow, that many of them were truly zealous and went with pious intents. These were like to those of whom Bellarmine speaketh, who had no fault *præter nimiam sanctitatem*, too much sanctity, which a learned man¹ interpreteth too much superstition. But besides these well-meaning people, there went also a rabble-rout, rather for company than conscience. Debtors² took this voyage on them as an acquittance from their debts, to the defrauding of their creditors; servants counted the conditions of their service cancelled by it, going away against their masters' will; thieves and murderers took upon them the cross, to escape the gallows; adulterers did penance in their armour. A lamentable case that the devil's black guard should be God's soldiers! And no wonder if the success was as bad as some of the adven-

⁶ Æmilius, De Gest. Fran. p. 109.

⁷ Daniel, in Henry the First, p. 49.

¹ Whitaker, De Eccl. Contro. 2, cap. 11.

² Albert, Aquin. Chron. Hierosol. lib. 1, cap. 2.

turers, especially seeing they retained their old conditions under a new climate. ³And (as if this voyage had been like to repentance, never too soon nor too late for any to begin) not only green striplings unripe for war, but also decayed men to whom age had given a writ of ease, became soldiers; and those who at home should have waited on their own graves, went far to visit Christ's sepulchre. And which was more, women (as if they would make the tale of the Amazons truth) went with weapons in men's clothes; a behaviour at the best immodest, and modesty being the case of chastity, it is to be feared that where the case is broken, the jewel is lost. (This enterprise was also the mother of much nonresidence; many prelates and friars (fitter to handle a penknife than a sword) left their convents and pastoral charges to follow this business. The total sum of those pilgrim soldiers amounted to three hundred thousand, and some writers⁴ do double that number. No doubt the Christians' army had been greater if it had been less, for the belly was too big for the head; and the medley of nations did rather burden than strengthen it. Besides, the army was like a cloth of many colours, and more seams; which seams, though they were curiously drawn up for the present, yet after long wearing began to be seen, and at last brake out into open rents.

CHAP. XIII.—*The Adventurers sorted according to their several Nations.*

THE French, Dutch, Italian, and English were the four elemental nations whereof this army was compounded: of these the French were predominant; they were the cape merchants in this adventure. That nimble nation first apprehended the project, and eagerly prosecuted it. As their language wanteth one proper word to express *stand*, so their natures mislike a settled, fixed posture, and delight in motion and agitation of business; yea, France (as being then best at leisure) contributed more soldiers to this war than all Christendom besides. The signal men were—Hugh, surnamed le Grand, brother to the king of France; Godfrey, duke of Bouillon; Baldwin, and Eustace, his younger brother; Stephen, earl of Blois, father to Stephen, afterwards king of England; Reinund, earl of Toulouse; Robert, earl of Flanders; Hugh, earl of St. Paul; Bald-

³ Tyrius, lib. 1, cap. 16.

⁴ Malmesb. lib. 4, p. 133.

win de Burge, with many more; besides of the clergy, Aimar, bishop of Pui and legate to the pope; and William, bishop of Orange.

Germany is slandered to have sent none to this war at this first voyage; and that other pilgrims, passing through that country, were mocked by the Dutch, and called fools for their pains¹. It is true, the German adventurers in number answered not the largeness and populousness of their country; for Henry, the emperor (a prince whom the pope long hacked at, and hewed him off at last), being desirous to go this voyage², was tied up at home with civil discords. Yet we find a competency of soldiers of that nation, besides those under Godescalcus a priest, Emmicho the Rhenegrave, and Count Herman, their leaders. But though Germany was backward at the first, yet afterwards it proved the main Atlas of the war; that nation, like a heavy bell, was long a raising, but being got up made a loud sound.

Italy sent few out of her heart and middle provinces nigh Rome. The pope was loath to adventure his darlings into danger; those white boys were to stay at home with his holiness their tender father: wherefore he dispensed with them for going³, as knowing how to use their help nearer, and to greater profit. Peter's patrimony must as well be looked to, as Christ's sepulchre. But though the pope would spend none of his own fuel, he burnt the best stakes of the emperor's hedge, and furthered the imperial party to consume itself in this tedious war. Out of the furthestmost parts of Italy, Boemund, prince of Tarentum, and Tancred, his nephew (both of the Norman seed, though growing on the Apulian soil), led an army of twelve thousand men; and Lombardy was also very liberal of her soldiers towards this expedition.

England⁴ (the pope's packhorse in that age, which seldom rested in the stable when there was any work to be done) sent many brave men under Robert, duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus; as Beauchamp, and others whose names are lost. Neither surely did the Irishmen's feet stick in their bogs, though we find no particular mention of their achievements.

Spain had other use for her swords against the Saracens

¹ Centurist. ex Ursperg. cent. 11, col. 416.

² Pantaleon, De viris Ger. part 2, p. 139.

³ Daniel, in Will. the Second, p. 49.

⁴ Daniel, ut prius.

at home, and therefore sent none of her men abroad. As one saith⁵, the Spaniards did follow their own holy war, a work more necessary, and no less honourable. Thus they acted the same part, though not on the same stage, with our pilgrims, as being also employed in fight against the infidels.

Poland had the same excuse for not much appearing clean through this war; because she lieth bordering on the Tartars in her appendant country of Lithuania, and therefore was busied in making good her frontiers. Besides, no wonder if Prussia, Lithuania, and Livonia were not up in this service, for it was scarce break of day with them, and the sun of the gospel was newly (if at all) risen in those parts. Yea, Poland was so far from sending men hither, that she fetched them from hence⁶, and afterwards implored the aid of the Teutonic order, who came out of Palestine to assist her against her enemies.

Hungary might bring filling-stones to this building, but few foundation or corner-stones, and at this time had no commander of note in this action.

Scotland also presented us not with any remarkable piece of service which her men performed in all this war. It was not want of devotion, which was hot enough in that cold country; rather we may impute it to want of shipping, that country being little powerful at sea, or (which is most probable) the actions of this nation are hidden, as wrapped up in the bundle with some others; I should guess under the French, but the intimacy of those two people is of a far later date.

Denmark and Norway, near acquainted with the Arctic pole, though they lagged the last (and may therein be excused because of the length of the way), were sharers in the honour of this employment, and performed good sea-service.

Sweden either acted not at all, or else had a very short part in this business. That country being a separatist, because of her remote situation, had little communion with other parts of Europe. And indeed histories are mute of Sweden, but that of late Gustavus's victory hath put a tongue into them, and hath made that country famous to all posterity.

⁵ Æmilius, de Gest. Fran. p. 109.

⁶ Munstur, Cosmogr.

CHAP. XIV.—*The sad Beginning of the War.*

THEIR first setting forth [March 8, 1096] was checked with bad success. For Walter Sensaver, a nobleman (but what countryman it is unknown), who¹ had more of the sail of valour than ballast of judgment, led forth an ill-grown and unproportioned army, with many thousand foot, and eight horsemen only². But we must not think that this fowl should fly far, whose wings were so short, and train so long. His men were routed and slain by the Bulgarians, and he himself, through many miseries, scarce recovered Constantinople. Peter the Hermit³, with his army, went further to meet his own destruction. For after many difficulties, having crossed the Bosphorus, they came into Asia, and there found some cities forsaken by the Turks, their inhabitants. This they imputed to their enemies' fear, which proceeded from their policy; and, therefore, being more greedy to pillage than careful to fortify the places they took, hunted after preys so long, till they became one themselves [July]. Hugh, brother to the king of France, with his surname of the Great, had as little success as the former; his army being quickly abridged by the furious Bulgarians in their passage, and he brought prisoner to Constantinople⁴. Besides these, one Gotescalcus, a priest, a wolf in sheep's clothing, and Emmicho, a tyrant prince near the Rhine, led forth a rout of wicked people, who carried the badge of the cross, and served the devil under Christ's livery, killing and pillaging the poor Jews and other people in Germany as they went⁵. This made Coloman, king of Hungary, not only deny them passage through his country (and no wonder if he was loath to lodge those guests who were likely to rob their host), but also put most of them to the sword. Some suspected these beginnings to be but the bad breakfast to a worse dinner; and therefore, abandoning their resolutions, returned home: others, little moved hereat, conceived these first defeats to be but the clarifying of the Christian army from the dregs of base and ruder people.

¹ Malmesb. l. 4, p. 133.

² Calvisius, p. 893, in anno 1096.

³ Æmilius, De Gest. Fran. p. 111. ⁴ Malmesb. l. 4, p. 133.

⁵ Urspergens. pp. 227 et 228.

CHAP. XV.—*The Pilgrims' Arrival at Constantinople, Entertainment, and Departure.*

BUT now (to speak in my author's phrase¹), the chaff being winnowed with this fan out of God's floor, the good grain began to appear. Godfrey, duke of Bouillon, set forth, and marched through Hungary [Aug. 15] with an army of civil and well-conditioned soldiers; so also did Boemund, Reimund, and Robert the Norman, whose setting forth bear divers dates; and they embraced several courses through sundry countries; but the first rendezvous where all met was at Constantinople.

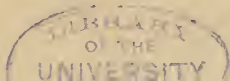
Dec. 23.] This was no pleasant prospect to Alexius, the Grecian emperor, to see the sea full of ships, the shore of soldiers. He had gotten the empire by bad practices (by deposing and cloistering Nicephorus, his predecessor), and an ill conscience needeth no enemy but itself; for now he affrighteth himself with the fancy that these pilgrims were so many pioneers come to undermine him. Yea, he seemeth to have entailed his jealousies on all his successors, who never cordially affected this war, but suspected that these western Christians made but a false blow at Jerusalem, and meant to hit Constantinople. But though he had a storm in his heart, yet he made all fair weather in his face; and finding these his guests so strong that they could command their own welcome, he entertained them rather for fear than love. At last it was covenanted betwixt them², that what countries or cities soever (Jerusalem alone excepted) once belonging to this Grecian empire should be recovered by these Latins, should all be restored to Alexius; in lieu whereof he was to furnish them with armour, shipping, and all other warlike necessities. Thus might that emperor³ have much improved his estate by these adventures; but he (like those who cannot see their own good for too steadfast looking on it), by his over carefulness and causeless suspicion, deprived himself of this benefit, and implunged himself in much just hatred for his unjust dealing and treachery. Polybius, though a Grecian himself, yet thus painteth out his countrymen amongst the Greeks⁴:—"If one should lend a talent, though he should have for it ten

¹ Urspergens. p. 233.

² M. Paris, p. 38.

³ Æmilius, De Gest. Fran. p. 112.

⁴ Lib. 6. Vide Erasmum in Adagio. *Græca fides.*



bonds, ten seals, and twice as many witnesses, yet the borrower will not keep his credit." It seems Alexius was one of this same faith, who, though so solemnly engaged on his honour to perform this agreement so advantageous to himself, most unprincelike brake his word, and molested these pilgrims afterwards.

Some question the discretion of these princes in this agreement⁵, to bargain to purchase Alexius's profit with their blood, and conceive that they much undervalued themselves in swearing homage unto him; which only Robert, earl of Flanders⁶ (remembering that he was free born and bred), refused to do. Yet they may herein be partly excused, for they apprehended it of absolute necessity to gain this emperor's favour, on what price soever, because his country was the highway through which they must pass. Besides, their zeal to be at their journey's end made them insensible of any future disadvantages, so be it they might have but present expedition to the place they were bound for. And we may also think that Alexius's liberal gifts had great efficacy in this matter, to win these princes to his own desires.

CHAP. XVI.—*The Estate of Asia. Siege and Taking of Nice. Turks overthrown in Battle.*

AT our last mentioning of the Turks and their victories, we left them possessed of Jerusalem and the greater part of Syria: but since they have thrived better, and won the lesser Asia from the Grecian emperor. Indeed, those emperors with their own hands lifted up the Turks into their throne, and caused them thus speedily to conquer. For giving themselves over to pleasure, they gave little countenance, and less maintenance, to men of service and action; whereby the martial sparks in noble spirits were quenched; and no wonder if virtue did wither where it was not watered with reward. Secondly, out of covetousness the emperors unfurnished their frontiers of garrisons, and laid them open to invasions; a notorious solecism in policy: for if doors in private houses are to be locked, much more frontiers in kingdoms. Neither did it a little advantage the Turks' proceedings that the Grecian empire fell to Eudoxia, a woman, and her children in minority, too weak pilots to steer so great a state in the tempest of war. And though after other changes it fell to Alexius, one whose personal abilities were not to be excepted against, yet he being to-

⁵ M. Paris, p. 38.

⁶ Malmesb. 137.

tally busied at home, to maintain his title against home-bred foes, had no leisure to make any effectual resistance against foreign enemies. Nor did the death of Cutlen-Muses, their king, any whit prejudice the Turkish proceedings; for Solyman, his son, succeeded him, a prince no less famous for his clemency than his conquests; as victory, to generous minds, is only an inducement to moderation. In this case, under the tyranny of the Turks stood Asia the Less; and though there were many Christians in every city, yet these being disarmed, had no other weapons than those of the primitive church, tears and prayers.

But now these western pilgrims, arriving there, besiege the city of Nice with an army as glorious as ever the sun beheld [May 14, 1097]. This city was equally beholden to nature and art for her strength, and was formerly famous for the first general council, called there by Constantine against Arius, wherein were assembled three hundred and eighteen bishops. The pilgrims had a Lombard for their engineer; the neighbouring wood afforded them materials, whereof they made many warlike instruments, and hoped speedily to conquer the city. But breathed deer are not so quickly caught. The Turks within, being experienced soldiers, defeated their enterprises. And here one might have seen art promising herself the victory, and suddenly meeting with counterart, which mastered her. The lake Ascanius, whereon the city stood, having an outlet into the sea, much advantaged the besieged, whereby they fetched victuals from the country, till at last that passage was locked up by the Grecian fleet. Soon after the city was surrendered [June 20], on composition that the inhabitants' lives and goods should be untouched; whereat the soldiers, who hitherto hoped for the spoil, now seeing themselves spoiled of their hope, showed no small discontentment. Solyman's wife and young children were taken prisoners, and the city (according to the agreement) was delivered to Tatinus, the Grecian admiral, in behalf of Alexius, his master.

From hence the Christians set forward to the vale of Dogorgan, when behold Solyman with all his might fell upon them, and there followed a cruel battle, fought with much courage and variety of success. A cloud of arrows darkened the sky, which was quickly dissolved into a shower of blood. The Christians had many disadvantages, for their enemies were three to one, and valour itself may be pressed to death under the weight of multitude. The season

was unseasonable ; the scorching of the sun much annoying these northern people, whilst the Turks had bodies of proof against the heat. Besides, the Christians' horses, affrighted with the barbarous sounds of the Turkish drums, were altogether unserviceable. However, they bravely maintained their fight by the special valour and wisdom of their leaders (amongst whom Boemund, and Hugh, brother to the king of France, deserved high commendations), till at last, finding themselves overmatched, they began to guard their heads with their beels, and fairly ran away. When in came Robert the Norman, in the very opportunity of opportunity¹. Much he encouraged them with his words, more with his valour, slaying three principal Turks with his own hands. This sight so inspirited the Christians, that coming in on fresh, they obtained a most glorious victory. Two thousand on their side were slain, whereof William the brother of Tancred, Godfrey de Mont, and Robert of Paris, were of special note. But far greater was the slaughter of their enemies, especially after that Godfrey of Bouillon, who had been absent all the battle, came in with his army : yet they wanted a hammer to drive the victory home to the head, having no horses to make the pursuit². Solyman, flying away, burned all as he went ; and, to prop up his credit, gave it out that he had gotten the day, pleasing himself to be a conqueror in report. This great battle was fought July 1st, though some make it many days after ; yea, so great is the variety of historians in their dates, that every one may seem to have a several clock of time, which they set faster or slower at their own pleasure ; but as long as they agree in the main, we need not be much moved with their petty dissensions.

CHAP. XVII.—*The Siege and Taking of Antioch. Corboran overcome in Fight. Of Christ's Spear, and of holy Fraud.*

FROM hence, with invincible industry and patience, they bored a passage through valleys, up mountains, over rivers, taking as they went the famous cities Iconium, Heraclea, Tarsus, and conquering all the country of Cilicia. This good success much puffed them up³ ; God, therefore, to cure them of the pleurisy of pride, did let them blood with the long and costly siege of Antioch. This city, watered by the river Orontes, and called Reblath of the

¹ M. Paris, p. 42, et H. Hunting, lib. 7, p. 374.

² W. Malmesb. p. 138.

³ Urspergens. p. 233.

Hebrews, was built by Seleucus Nicanor, and enlarged by Antiochus. Compassed it was with a double wall, one of square stone, the other of brick, strengthened with four hundred and sixty towers, and had a castle on the east rather to be admired than assaulted. Here the professors of our faith were first named Christians², and here St. Peter first sat bishop, whose fair church was a patriarchal seat for many hundred years after. Before this city the pilgrims' army encamped [Oct. 21], and strongly besieged it; but the Turks within manfully defending themselves under Auxianus, their captain, frustrated their hopes of taking it by force. The siege grew long, and victuals short, in the Christians' camp; and now Peter the Hermit³, being brought to the touchstone, discovered what base metal he was of, ran away with some other of good note, and were fetched back again, and bound with a new oath to prosecute the war. At last, one within the city (though authors agree neither of his name nor religion, some making him a Turk, others a Christian; some calling him Pyrrhus, some Hemirpherrus, others Emipher) in the dead of the night betrayed the city to Boemund [June 3, 1098]. The Christians issuing in, and exasperated with the length of the siege, so remembered what they had suffered, that they forgot what they had to do, killing promiscuously Christian citizens with Turks⁴. Thus passions, like heavy bodies down steep hills, once in motion move themselves, and know no ground but the bottom.

Antioch, thus taken, was offered to Alexius the emperor, but he refused it, suspecting some deceit in the tender; as bad men measure other men's minds by the crooked rule of their own. Hereupon it was bestowed on Boemund; though this place, dearly purchased, was not long quietly possessed; for Corboran, the Turkish general, came with a vast army of Persian forces, and besieged the Christians in the city, so that they were brought into a great strait betwixt death and death, hunger within and their foes without. Many secretly stole away, whereat the rest were no whit discomfited, counting the loss of cowards to be gain to an army. At last they generally resolved rather to lose their lives by wholesale on the point of the sword, than to retail them out by famine, which is the worst of tyrants, and

² Acts xi. 26.

³ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 5, p. 357. Et Æmilius, in Philip the First, p. 123.

⁴ P. Æmil. p. 127.

murdereth men in state, whilst they die in not dying. It did not a little encourage them, that they found in the church of St. Peter that lance wherewith our Saviour's body was pierced⁵. They highly prized this military relic of Christ, as if by wounding of him it had got virtue to wound his enemies, and counted it a pawn of certain victory. Whether this spear was truly found, or whether it was but invented to cozen men with, we will not dispute. However, it wrought much with these pilgrims, for conceit oftentimes doeth things above conceit, especially when the imagination apprehendeth something founded in religion. Marching forth in several armies, they manfully fell upon their enemies [June 28], and being armed with despair to escape, they sought to sell their lives at the dearest rate. Valour doth swell when it is crushed betwixt extremities, and then oftentimes goeth beyond herself in her achievements. This day, by God's blessing on their courage, they got a noble conquest. Some saw St. George in the air with an army of white horses fighting for them⁶; but these, no doubt, did look through the spectacles of fancy. And yet, though we should reject this apparition, we need not play the Origenes with the story of St. George, and change all the literal sense into an allegory of Christ and his church; for it is improbable that our English nation, amongst so many saints that were, would choose one that was not, to be their patron, especially seeing the world, in that age, had rather a glut than famine of saints.

And here let me advertise the reader, once for all, not to expect that I should set down those many miracles⁷ wherewith authors who write this war so lard their stories, that it will choke the belief of any discreet man to swallow them. As the intent of these writers was pious, to gain credit and converts to the Christian faith, so the prosecuting of their project must be condemned, in thinking to grace the gospel in reporting such absurd falsities. But let us know that heaven hath a pillory, whereon *fraus pia* herself shall be punished; and rather let us leave religion to her native plainness, than hang her ears with counterfeit pearls.

The pride of the Turks being abated in this battle, and

⁵ Tyrius, lib. 6, cap. 14.

⁶ M. Paris, in *Gulielmo secundo*, p. 57.

⁷ *Mundus senescens patitur phantasias falsorum miraculorum; propterea sunt nunc habenda miracula valde suspecta.*—Gerson.

one hundred thousand of them beingslain, the Christians grew mightily insolent, and forgot to return to God the honour of the victory; whereupon followed a great mortality, and fifty thousand died in few days. Whether this proceeded from the climate (the bodies of Europe not being friends with the air of Asia, till use by degrees reconcileth them), or whether it was caused by their intemperance: for after long fasting they would not measure their stomachs by the standard of physic, and dieting themselves till nature by degrees could digest the meat; but by surfeiting digged their graves with their own teeth.

And now we are come to the skirts and borders of Palestine. Wherefore as heralds use to blazon the field before they meddle with the charge, so let us describe the land before we relate the actions done therein. If in bowling they must needs throw wide which know not the green or alley whereon they play, much more must they miss the truth in story who are unacquainted with that country whereon the discourse proceedeth. Briefly, therefore, of the Holy Land; as not intending to make a large and wide description of so short and narrow a country.

CHAP. XVIII.—*A Pisgah-sight, or short Survey of Palestine in general; and how it might maintain one million three hundred thousand Men.*

PALESTINE is bounded on the north with Mount Libanus; west, with the Midland Sea; south, with the wilderness of Paran, parting it from Egypt; and east, with the mountains of Gilead and the river of Arnon. To give it the most favourable dimensions: from the foot of Libanus to Beersheba, north and south, may be allowed two hundred and ten miles; and from Ramoth-gilead to Endor, east and west, seventy; which is the constant breadth of the country. In which compass, in David's time, were maintained thirteen hundred thousand men¹, besides women, children, and impotent persons; and yet the tribes of Benjamin² and Levi were not reckoned. True this must needs be, for Truth hath said it; yet it is wonderful. For though the United Provinces in the Low Countries maintain as many people in as little a plot of ground, yet they feed not on home-bred food, but have Poland for their granary, the British ocean for their fishpond, High Germany for their wine-cellar, and by the benefit of their harbours unlock the storehouses of all

¹ 2 Sam. xxiv. 9.

² 1 Chron. xxi. 6.

other countries. It fared not thus with the Jews, whose own country fed them all. And yet the seeming impossibility of so many kept in so small a land will be abated if we consider these particulars:—

1. People in those hot countries had not so hot appetites for the quantity of the meat eaten, nor gluttonous palates for the variety of it.

2. The country rising and falling into hills and vales, gained many acres of ground, whereof no notice is taken in a map, for therein all things presented are conceived to be *in plano*: and so the land was far roomier than the scale of miles doth make it.

3. They had pasturage to feed their cattle in, in out-countries beyond Palestine. Thus the tribe of Reuben³ grazed their cattle eastward, even to the river Euphrates.

4. Lastly, the soil was transcendently fruitful, as appeareth by that great bunch of grapes⁴ carried by two men. For though many a man hath not been able to bear wine, it is much that one should be laden with one cluster of grapes.

If any object against the fruitfulness of this country, that there were many wildernesses therein, as those of Maon, Ziph, Carmel, Gibeon, Judah, and these must needs cut large thongs out of so narrow a hide: it is answered, that these wildernesses took up no great space, as probably being no bigger than our least forests in England. As for the greater deserts, we must not conceive them to lie wholly waste, but that they were but thinly inhabited; for we find six cities, with their villages, in the wilderness of Judah⁵.

Principal commodities of this country were,

1. Balm, which wholly failed⁶ not long after our Saviour's passion; whether because the type was to cease when the truth was come, or because that land was unworthy to have so sovereign bodily physic grow in her, where the Physician of the soul was put to death.

2. Honey, and that either distilled by bees, those little chymists (and the pasture they fed on was never a whit the barer for their biting), or else rained down from heaven, as that which Jonathan tasted⁷, when his sweet meat had like to have had sour sauce, and to have cost him his life.

Besides these, milk, oil, nuts, almonds, dates, figs, olives

³ 1 Chron. v. 9, 10. ⁴ Num. xiii. 23. ⁵ Joshua, xv. 61

⁶ Munster, in *Terra sancta*, p. 1017, et in *Ægypt.* p. 1135.

⁷ 1 Sam. xiv. 27.

so that we may boldly say, no country had better sauce and better meat, having fowl, fish in sea, lakes, and rivers; flesh of sheep, goats, bucks, and kine.

Mines of gold and silver, with pearls and precious stones, Judea rather had not than wanted; either because God would not have his people proud or covetous, or because these are not essential to man's life, or because nature bestoweth these commodities in recompense on barren countries.

Horses they had none, but what they bought out of Egypt for service, using asses for burden, oxen for drawing, and mules for travel. And for many hundred years they used no horses in battle, till David took some from Hada-dezer⁸. The greatest inconvenience of the land was that it had wild beasts; and their sheep were not securely folded like ours in England, which stand more in danger of men than wolves.

The chief river of the country was Jordan, over which the Israelites passed on foot; afterwards Elijah made a bridge over it with his cloak, and our Saviour washed the water hereof, by being baptized in it. This ariseth from the springs of Jor and Dan; whence, running south, he enlargeth himself, first into the waters of Merom, then into the lake of Genesareth or Tiberias; and hence, recovering his stream, as if sensible of his sad fate, and desirous to defer what he cannot avoid, he fetcheth many turnings and windings, but all will not excuse him from falling into the Dead Sea. Authors are very fruitful on the barrenness of this sea (where Sodom once stood), writing how on the banks thereof grow those hypocrite apples and well complexioned dust (the true emblems of the false pleasures of this world) which touched fall to ashes.

CHAP. XIX.—*Galilee described.*

PALESTINE contained four provinces: Galilee, on the north; Trachonitis, beyond Jordan, on the east; Judea, on the south; and Samaria, in the middle. Galilee was divided into the upper and lower. The upper (called also Galilee of the Gentiles, because it bordered on them) comprehended the tribes of Asher and Naphtali.

Asher entertaineth us with these observables:—1. Mis-rephothmajim¹, the Nantwich of Palestine, where salt was boiled. 2. Sarepta, where Elijah multiplied the widow's

⁸ 2 Sam. viii. 4.

¹ Josh. xi. 8.

oil. 3. Tyre, anciently the royal exchange of the world ; but of this (as of Sidon and Ptolemais) largely hereafter. 4. Ephék, whose walls falling down gave both the death and gravestones to twenty-seven thousand of Benhadad's soldiers. 5. Cana the Great, whereof was that woman whose daughter Christ dispossessed of a devil. 6. Belus, a rivulet famous for its glassy sand. 7. Mount Libanus, whether so called (as our Albion) from his snowy top, or from frankincense growing thereon.

Naphtali with these:—1. Abel-beth-maacha. In this borough Sheba, that vermin, earthed himself, till a woman's wisdom threw his head over the walls : and pity it was those walls should have stood, if they had been too high to throw a traitor's head over them. 2. Harosheth, the city of Sisera, who, for all his commanding of nine hundred iron chariots, was slain with one iron nail. 3. Capernaum, where Christ healed the centurion's servant, and not far off fed an army of guests with five loaves and two fishes ; so that if we consider what they ate, we may wonder that they left any thing ; if what they left, that they ate any thing. 4. Kedesh, a city of refuge, whither they were to fly that killed men unawares. As for those who formerly privileged sanctuaries in England, where the worst traitors and wilfulest murderers were secure from punishment, they rather propounded Romulus than Moses for their president. 5. Riblah, where King Zedekiah (more unhappy that he saw so long, than that he was blind so soon) had his eyes put out, after he had beheld the slaughter of his sons. 6. Cesarea-Philippi, the chief city of Decapolis, which was a small territory on both sides of Jordan, so called of ten cities it contained ; though authors wonderfully differ in reckoning up. 7. Christ's mount, so named because it was his pulpit, as the whole law was his text, when he made that famous sermon on the mount. This Sun of Righteousness, which had all Palestine for his zodiac, the twelve tribes for his signs, stayed longest here and in Zebulun ; and, as St. Hierome observeth², as these two tribes were first carried into captivity, so redemption was first preached in these countries.

Lower Galilee consisted of Zebulun and Issachar. Zebulun presenteth us with Nain, where our Saviour raised the widow's son, so that she was twice a mother, yet had but one child. 2. Cana the Less, where he showed the virginity

² In 4 Mat.

of his miracles at a marriage, turning water into wine. 3. Bethulia, where Judith struck off Holofernes's head, though some since have struck off that story, not only from canonical scripture, but from truth. 4. Bethsaida, upbraided by Christ, famous for her great means, great ingratitude, great punishment. 5. Nazareth, where our Saviour had his conception and education. 6. Tiberias, so called by Herod the tetrarch, in the honour of Tiberius. 7. Mount Carmel, the Jewish Parnassus, where the prophets were so conversant. 8. Tabor, where our Saviour was transfigured, the earnest of his future glory. 9. The river Kishon, God's besom to sweep away Sisera's great army.

In Issachar we find Tarichea, taken with great difficulty by Vespasian. 2. Shunem, where Elisha was so often entertained by an honourable woman. And, as if this land had been thirsty of blood, here in this tribe were fought the battles of Gideon against the Midianites, Jehu against Jehoram, Saul against the Philistines upon Mount Gilboa. David therefore cursed that mountain, that neither dew nor rain should fall on it. But of late, some English travellers climbing this mountain were well wetted, David not cursing it by a prophetic spirit, but in a poetical rapture.

CHAP. XX.—*The Description of Samaria.*

SAMARIA contained half Manasses on this side Jordan, and the tribe of Ephraim. In the former we met with Bethshean, on the walls whereof the Philistines hanged Saul's body. 2. Tirzah, where Zimri (whose only goodness was, that he reigned but seven days) burned himself and the king's palace. 3. Thebez, where Abimelech, prodigal of his life, but niggardly of his reputation, not so pained with his death, as angry with his killer (because a woman), would needs be killed again by his armour-bearer. 4. Megiddo, where Josiah, that bright sun, set in a cloud, engaging himself in a needless quarrel, wherein he was slain. 5. Cesarea-Stratonis, where Herod was eaten up with worms. 6. Jezreel, a royal city of the kings of Israel, nigh which lay the vineyard, or rather blood-yard, of Naboth.

Ephraim was adorned with Samaria, the chief city of Israel, which at this day showeth more ruins than Jerusalem. 2. Shiloh, where the ark was long leiger; and where Eli, heart-broken with bad news, brake his neck with a fall. 3. Sichem, where Dinah bought the satisfying of her curiosity with the loss of her chastity. And, as if the ground here were stained with perfidiousness, here Simeon

and Levi killed the Sichemites, Joseph was sold by his brethren, Abimelech usurped the government, the ten tribes revolted from Rehoboam. 4. Mount Ephraim, a ridge of hills crossing this country. 5. Gerizzim and Ebal, two mountains: the blessings were pronounced on the one, and the curses on the other.

CHAP. XXI.—*Judea surveyed.*

JUDEA comprised the tribes of Benjamin, Dan, Simeon and Judah. Benjamin flourished with Gilgal, where Joshua circumcised the Israelites. They hitherto had been fellow-commoners with the angels, feeding on manna, which here ceased; God withdrawing miracles where he afforded means. 2. Gibeon, whose inhabitants cozened Joshua with a pass of false-dated antiquity: who would have thought that clouted shoes could have covered so much subtilty. Here Joshua sent his mandate to the sun to stand still, and to wait on him whilst he conquered his enemies. 3. Nob, where Doeg, more cruel than the king's cattle he kept, slew eighty-five priests, as innocent as their ephods were white. 4. Jerichio, whose walls were battered down with the sound of rams' horns. 5. Bethel, where God appeared to Jacob. 6. Ai, where the Israelites were slain for the sacrilege of Achan.

Dan had these memorables:—1. Joppa, a safe harbour where Jonah fled from God's service. 2. Ashdod, or Azotus, where Dagon did twice homage to the ark, not only falling bare, but putting off his head and hands. 3. Gath, a seminary of giants, where Goliath was born. 4. Ekron, where Beelzebub, the God of flies, had a nest of temple. 5. Timnath, where Judah committed incest with Tamar, but betrayed himself by his own tokens, and beat himself with his own staff. Hence Samson fetched his wife, whose epithalamium proved the dirge to so many Philistines. 6. Modin, where the Maccabees were buried. 7. Sorek, the chief, if not only rivulet of this tribe.

Entering on the south coasts of Simeon, we light on Askelon, where Herod was born. 2. Gaza, chief of the five satrapies of the Philistines, the gates whereof Samson carried away; and hither being sent for to make sport in the house of Dagon, acted such a tragedy that plucked down the stage, slew himself and all the spectators. 3. Moresheth, inland, Ziklag, assigned by Achish to David. 4. Beersheba and Gerar, where Abraham and Isaac lived most constantly, near unto the brook of Besor.

The tribe of Judah was the greatest of all, so that Simeon and Dan did feed on the reversion thereof, and received those cities which originally belonged to this royal tribe. Memorable herein were, 1. Hebron, the land whereof was given to Caleb, because he and Joshua consented not to the false verdict which the jury of spies brought in against the land of Canaan. 2. Nigh, in the cave of Machpelah, the patriarchs were buried; whose bodies took livery and seizin in behalf of their posterity, which were to possess the whole land. 3. Kirjath-sepher or Debir, an ancient university of the Canaanites: for though Parnassus was only in Greece, yet the Muses were not confined to that country. 4. Tekoa, where Amos was born, fetched from the herdsmen to feed God's sheep; and to dress his vine, from gathering wild figs. 5. Zoar, Lot's refuge, near to which his wife, for one farewell glance at Sodom, was turned into a pillar of salt, to season us to measure a sin by the infiniteness of God who forbiddeth it. Adjoining is Lot's cave, where he, affecting solitariness, had too much company of his own daughters. 6. Carmel, where Nabal lived, as rich as foolish; but those grains of wisdom which were wanting in him were found overweight in his wife. Here Uzziah pastured his cattle, a king, yet delighted in husbandry; as thrift is the fuel of magnificence. 7. Bethlehem, where our Saviour was born. 8. Jerusalem, whereof afterwards.

CHAP. XXII.—*Of Trachonitis.*

WE want one adequate word of a country to express the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasses beyond Jordan. Trachonitis cometh the nearest, so called because it riseth up in sharp hills, which are known to Ptolemy by the name of Hippius; to Strabo, of Trachones; but in Scripture, of Mount Hermon, or Gilead.

Reuben, though disinherited of the birthright, had this honour of an elder brother, that he was first provided for. His chief places, Heshbon and Medeba, and Macherus, the strongest inland city in that part of the world. Mount Abarim, a chain of hills, the highest whereof was Nebo; the top cliff of Nebo, Pisgah, whence Moses viewed the land: hereabouts the angel buried him, and also buried his grave, lest it should occasion idolatry. The river Arnon parteth this tribe from Moab.

In Gad, we find Peniel, where Jacob wrestled with God, lost a sinew, but got a blessing: Jabesh-gilead, where Saul was buried: Ramoth-gilead, where Ahab was slain: Roge-

lim, the manor of Barzillai, superannuated to be a courtier : Mahanaim, where the angels appeared to Jacob : the forest of Ephraim, where that execution was done by Jephthah on the Ephraimites, for not pronouncing that heavy aspiration in Shibboleth : the river Jabbok.

In Manasses, Edrei, the city of Og, on whose giant-like proportion the rabbins have more giant-like lies : Gadara, whose inhabitants loved their swine better than their Saviour. They that desire to be further informed of Canaan, let them spare pains to strike fire, and light their candle at Sir Walter Raleigh's torch.

CHAP. XXIII.—*The Description of the City of Jerusalem ; the Observables within and about her.*

JERUSALEM, by the often change of her fortunes, hath somewhat altered her situation, having hitched herself more north-westward. For the mountain of Calvary, which formerly she shut out of her gates, as the infamous place of execution, she now embraceth within her walls as her most venerable monument.

On the south of Jerusalem (once part of her, now excluded) lieth Mount Sion, famous anciently for the palace of David : on the east, Mount Olivet, parted with the vale of Jehoshaphat ; which (some will have) shall be the hall for the great assizes of the world at the day of judgment, whilst others more modestly conceive that the place as well as the time is concealed. On the west, the hill of Gihon : and on the north, it is indifferent plain.

The monuments which are still extant, to be seen without or within the city, are reducible to one of these three ranks :—1. Certainly true ; as the mountains compassing it, which are standards too great and too heavy for either time or war to remove ; and such also are some eminent particulars of some places, which constant tradition, without rupture, hath entailed on posterity. 2. Of a mixed nature ; where the text is true, but superstition and fancy have commented on it. 3. Stark lies, without a rag of probability to hide their shame ; where the believer is as foolish as the inventor impudent. We will bundle them together, and let the reader sort them at his discretion : for it is as hard to fit the throats as to please the palates of men ; and that will choke one man's belief which another will swallow as easily credible. Neither let any censure this discourse as a parenthesis to this history, seeing that to see these

relics was one principal motive with many to undertake this pilgrimage.

To begin without the city, on the south, there remain the ruins of David's palace, too near to which was Uriah's house; and the fountain¹ is still showed where Bathsheba's washing of her body occasioned the fouling of her soul. Next, David's tomb is to be seen, wherein he was buried: his monument was enriched with a mass of treasure, saith Josephus; out of which Hircanus, eight hundred and fifty years after, took three thousand talents. But surely David, who despised riches in his life, was not covetous after his death: and I am sure they are his own words, that *Man shall carry nothing away with him, neither shall his great pomp follow him*². Thirdly, Aceldama, that burying-place for strangers; and the grave, that every where hath a good stomach, hath here a *boulimia*, or greedy worm, for it will devour the flesh of a corpse in forty-eight hours. Fourthly, Absalom's pillar, which he built to continue his memory, though he might have saved that cost, having eternized his infamy by his unnatural rebellion. Fifthly, the houses of Annas and Caiaphas, to pass by others of inferior note.

On the east, first, Mount Olivet, from whence our Saviour took his rise into heaven. The chapel of Ascension, of an eight-square round, mounted on three degrees, still challengeth great reverence; and there the footsteps of our Saviour are still to be seen, which cannot be covered over. Secondly, the fig-tree which Christ cursed; for he who spake many, here wrought a parable; this whole tree being but the bark, and Christ under it cursing the fruitless profession of the Jews. Thirdly, the place where St. Stephen was stoned; and the stones thereabouts are overgrown with a red rust, which is (forsooth) the very blood of that holy martyr. Fourthly, the place where Judas surprised our Saviour, and he fell down on a stone, in which the print of his elbows and feet are still to be seen. Fifthly, the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin; whose body, after it had been three days buried, was carried up by the angels into heaven; and she let fall her girdle to St. Thomas³, that his weak faith might be swaddled therewith; otherwise he who in the point of Christ's resurrection would have no creed, except he made his own articles, and put his finger into his side, would no doubt hardly have believed the Virgin's assump-

¹ Morison's Trav. part 1, p. 226.

² Psalm xlix. 17.

³ Sandys, p. 190.

tion. With this legend we may couple another, which, though distant in place, will be believed both together: they show at Bethlehem⁴ a little hole over the place where our Saviour was born, through which the star which conducted the wise men fell down to the ground. But who will not conclude but there was a *vertigo* in his head, who first made a star subject to the falling sickness? Sixthly, the vale of Hinnom or Tophet, in which wise Solomon, befooled by his wives, built a temple to Moloch. Seventhly, Cedron, a brook so often mentioned in Scripture.

The west and north sides of Jerusalem were not so happily planted with sacred monuments; and we find none thereon which grew to any eminency.

We will now lead the reader into Jerusalem; where, first, on Mount Moriah (the place where Isaac was offered, though not sacrificed), stood Solomon's temple, destroyed by the Chaldeans, rebuilt by Zorobabel; afterward Herod reedified it so stately (saith Josephus) that it exceeded Solomon's temple; if his words exceed not the truth. But no wonder if he that never saw the sun, dare say that the moon is the most glorious light in the heavens. Secondly, Solomon's palace, which was thirteen years in building⁵, whereas the temple was finished in seven⁶: not that he bestowed more cost and pains (because more time) on his own than on God's house; but rather he plied God's work more thoroughly, and entertained then more builders; so that, contrary to the proverb, church work went on the most speedily. Thirdly, the house of the forest of Lebanon, which was (as appeareth by comparing the text) forty cubits longer, and thirty cubits broader than the temple itself. But no doubt the Holy Spirit, speaking of holy buildings, meaneth the great cubit of the sanctuary; but in other houses, the ordinary or common cubit. It was called the house of Lebanon, because hard by it Solomon planted a grove⁷, the abridgment of the great forest; so that the pleasures of spacious Lebanon were here written in a less character. Fourthly, Pilate's palace, and the common hall, where the Judge of the world was condemned to death. Fifthly, the pool of Bethesda, the waters whereof, troubled by the angel, were a *panpharmacon* to him that

⁴ Bidulph's Trav. p. 130, and Morison's, part 1, p. 227.

⁵ 1 Kings, vii. 1.

⁶ 1 Kings, vi. 38. Vide Tremel. in locum.

⁷ Adricom. ex Hieron. p. 153.

first got into them. Here was a spital built with five porches, the mercy of God being seconded by the charity of man; God gave the cure, men built the harbour for impotent persons. Sixthly, the house of Dives, the rich glutton: and therefore (saith Adricomius⁸) it was no parable: but may we not retort his words? It was a parable, and therefore this is none of Dives's house. Sure I am, Theophylact is against the literal sense thereof, and saith, they think foolishly that think otherwise⁹.

But my discourse hasteth to Mount Calvary, which at this day hath almost engrossed all reverence to itself. It is called Calvary, Golgotha, or the place of a scull, either because the hill is rolled and rounded up in the fashion of a man's head¹⁰ (as *Pen*¹¹ in the British tongue signifieth both a head and a copped hill), or because here the bodies of such as were executed were cast. As for that conceit, that Adam's scull should here be found, it is confuted by St. Hierome, who will have him buried at Hebron. Neither is it likely, if the Jews had a tradition that the father of mankind had here been interred, that they would have made his sepulchre their Tyburn, where malefactors were put to death, and the charnel-house where their bones were scattered. Over our Saviour's grave stood a stately church, built, say some, by Helen, say others, by Constantine; but we will not set mother and son at variance; it might be she built it at his cost. In this church are many monuments, as the pillar whereunto Christ was bound when scourged, wherein red spots of dusky-veined marble usurped the honour to be counted Christ's blood¹². Secondly, a great cleft in the rock, which was rent in sunder at the passion, whereby the bad thief was divided from Christ (the sign of his spiritual separation), and they say it reacheth to the centre of the earth: a thing hard to confute. Thirdly, certain pillars, which, being in a dark place under ground, are said miraculously to weep for our Saviour's sufferings. But I refer those who desire the criticisms of those places, without going thither, to read our English travellers; for in this case, as good wares and far cheaper pennyworths are bought at the second hand.

To conclude our description of Palestine, let none con-

⁸ Theatr. Terr. Sanct. 153.

⁹ ἀνοήτως, Comment. in 16 Luc. ¹⁰ Illyricus, in 27 Matth.

¹¹ Camden's Brit. in Buckinghamshire.

¹² Bridenb. De Domin. Sepulchro.

ceive that God forgot the Levites in division of the land because they had no entire country allotted unto them. Their portion was as large as any, though paid in several sums; they had forty-eight cities, with their suburbs, tithes, first-fruits, free-offerings; being better provided for than many English ministers, who may preach of hospitality to their people, but cannot go to the cost to practise their own doctrine.

A TABLE SHOWING THE VARIETY OF PLACES' NAMES IN PALESTINE.

In the Old Testament.	At Christ's time.	In St. Hierome's time.	At this day.
1. Azzah.	Gaza.	Constantia.	Gazra ¹³ .
2. Japho.	Joppa.		Jaffa ¹⁴ .
3. Ramah.	Arimathea.		Ramma ¹⁵ .
4. Shechem.	Sychar.	Neapolis.	Pelosa ¹⁶ .
5. Lydda.		Diospolis.	
6. Capharsalama.	Antipatris.		Assur ¹⁷ .
7. Zarephath.	Sarepta.		Saphet ¹⁸ .
8. Emmaus.		Nicopolis.	
9. Bethsan.		Scythopolis.	
10. Tzor.	Tyrus.		Sur ¹⁹ .
(Laish.			
11. { Dan.	{ Cesarea-Philippi.	Paneas.	Belina ²⁰ .
(Leshem.			
12. Jerusalem.	Hierosolyma.	Ælia.	Cuds ²¹ .
13. Samaria.	Samaria.	Sebaste.	
14. Cinnereth ²² .	Tiberias.		Saffet ²³ .
15. Accho.	Ptolemais.		Acre.
16. Gath.		Dio-Cesarea.	Ybilin ²⁴ .
17. Dammesek.	Damascus.		Sham ²⁵ .
18. Arnon.		Areopolis.	Petra ²⁶ .
19. Rabbah.	Philadelphia.		
20. Waters of Merom.	Semochonite lake.		Houle ²⁷ .

¹³ Sandys, p. 149.

¹⁶ Raleigh, p. 311.

¹⁹ Sandys, p. 216.

²² Adricom, p. 143.

²⁵ Bidulph, p. 94.

¹⁴ Adricom, p. 23.

¹⁷ Adricom, p. 70.

²⁰ Raleigh, p. 291.

²³ Sandys, p. 212.

²⁶ Adricom, p. 32.

¹⁵ Morison, p. 216.

¹⁸ Raleigh, p. 283.

²¹ Sandys, p. 155.

²⁴ Adricom, p. 22.

²⁷ Sandys, p. 212.

CHAP. XXIV.—*The Siege and Taking of Jerusalem.*

BY this time cold weather (the best besom to sweep the chambers of the air) had well cleared the Christians' camp from infection: and now their devotion moved the swifter, being come near to the centre thereof, the city of Jerusalem. Forward they set, and take the city of Marrha [Dec. 11, 1098], and employ themselves in securing the country about them, that so they might clear the way as they went [1099]. Neither did the discords betwixt Reimund and Boemund much delay their proceedings, being in some measure seasonably compounded; as was also the sea battle betwixt the Pisans and Venetians. For the Venetians seeing on the Pisans the cognizance of the cross¹, the uncounterfeited passport that they wear for the holy war, suffered them safely to go on, though otherwise they were their deadly enemies; yea, and set five thousand of them at liberty, whom they had taken captive.

The pilgrims kept their Easter at Tripolie [April 10], Whitsuntide by Cesarea-Statonis [May 29], taking many places in their passage; and at last came to Jerusalem. Discovering the city afar off, it was a pretty sight to behold the harmony in the difference of expressing their joy; how they clothed the same passion with diverse gestures; some prostrate, some kneeling, some weeping; all had much ado to manage so great a gladness. Then began they the siege of the city on the north [June 6] (being scarce assaultable on any other side, by reason of steep and broken rocks), and continued it with great valour. On the fourth day after [June 10], they had taken it but for want of scaling-ladders. But a far greater want was the defect of water, the springs being either stopped up or poisoned by the Turks; so that they fetched water five miles off². As for the brook Cedron, it was dried up, as having no subsistence of itself, but merely depending on the benevolence of winter waters, which Mount Olivet bestoweth upon it. Admiral Coligni was wont to say, He that will well paint the beast *war*, must first begin to shape the belly; meaning that a good general must first provide victuals for an army: yea, let him remember the bladder in the beast's belly, as well as the guts, and take order for moisture more especially than for meat itself; thirst, in northern bodies, being more insupportable than famine: quickly will their

¹ Sabellicus, Enn. 9, lib. 3, p. 357.² Æmilius, p. 135.

courage be cooled, who have no moisture to cool their hearts. As for the Christians' want of ladders, that was quickly supplied; for the Genoans arriving with a fleet in Palestine, brought most curious engineers, who framed a wooden tower, and all other artificial instruments. For we must not think that the world was at a loss for war tools before the brood of guns was hatched: it had the battering-ram³, first found out by Epeus, at the taking of Troy; the *balista*, to discharge great stones, invented by the Phenicians; the *catapulta*, being a sling of mighty strength, whereof the Syrians were authors; and perchance King Uzziah first made it⁴; for we find him very dexterous and happy in devising such things. And although these bear-whelps were but rude and unshaped at the first, yet art did lick them afterwards, and they got more teeth and sharper nails by degrees; so that every age set them forth in a new edition, corrected and amended. But these and many more voluminous engines (for the ram alone had a hundred men to manage it) are now virtually epitomized in the cannon. And though some may say, that the finding of guns hath been the losing of many men's lives, yet it will appear that battles now are fought with more expedition, and victory standeth not so long a neuter, before she express herself on one side or other.

But these guns have shot my discourse from the siege of Jerusalem. To return thither again. By this time, in the space of a month⁵ [July 11], the Genoans had finished their engines which they built seven miles off⁶; for nearer there grew no stick of bigness. I will not say, that since our Saviour was hanged on a tree, the land about that city hath been cursed with a barrenness of wood. And now, for a preparative, that their courage might work the better, they began with a fast and a solemn procession about Mount Olivet [July 12].

Next day they gave a fierce assault [July 13]; yea, women played the men⁷, and fought most valiantly in armour. But they within being forty thousand strong, well victualled and appointed, made stout resistance, till the night (accounted but a foe for her friendship) umpired betwixt them, and abruptly put an end to their fight in the midst of their courage.

³ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 7, cap. 56.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxvi. 15.

⁵ M. Paris, p. 63.

⁶ P. Æmilius, p. 135; and Tyrius, lib. 8, cap. 6.

⁷ Tyrius, lib. 8, cap. 13.

When the first light brought news of a morning, they on afresh; the rather, because they had intercepted a letter⁸ tied to the legs of a dove (it being the fashion of that country both to write and send their letters with the wings of a fowl⁹), wherein the Persian emperor promised present succours to the besieged. The Turks cased the outside of their walls with bags of chaff, straw, and such like pliable matter, which conquered the engines of the Christians by yielding unto them. As for one sturdy engine whose force would not be tamed, they brought two old witches on the walls to enchant it¹⁰; but the spirit thereof was too strong for their spells, so that both of them were miserably slain in the place.

The day following [July 15], Duke Godfrey¹¹ fired much combustible matter, the smoke whereof (the light cause of a heavy effect), driven with the wind, blinded the Turks' eyes; and under the protection thereof the Christians entered the city, Godfrey himself first footing the walls, and then his brother Eustace. The Turks retired to Solomon's temple (so called because built in the same place), there to take the farewell of their lives. In a desperate conflict there, the foremost of the Christians were miserably slain, thrust upon the weapons of their enemies by their fellows that followed them. The pavement so swam, that none could go but either through a rivulet of blood, or over a bridge of dead bodies. Valour was not wanting in the Turks, but superlatively abundant in the Christians, till night made them leave off. Next morning mercy was proclaimed to all those that would lay down their weapons; for though blood be the best sauce for victory, yet must it not be more than the meat. Thus was Jerusalem won by the Christians, and twenty thousand Turks therein slain¹², on the 15th of July, being Friday, about three of the clock in the afternoon. Tyrius¹³ findeth a great mystery in the time, because Adam was created on a Friday, and on the same day and hour our Saviour suffered. But these synchronisms, as when they are natural they are pretty and pleasing, so when violently wrested, nothing more poor and ridiculous.

Then many Christians [July 18], who all this while had lived in Jerusalem in most lamentable slavery, being glad

⁸ P. Æmilius, p. 136.

⁹ The manner set down at large, Bidulph's Trav. p. 43.

¹⁰ Tyrius, lib. 8, cap. 15.

¹¹ Idem, lib. 8, cap. 18.

¹² M. Paris, p. 65.

¹³ Lib. 8, c. 18.

to lurk in secret (as truth oftentimes seeketh corners, as fearing her judge, though never as suspecting her cause) came forth joyfully, welcomed and embraced these the procurers of their liberty.

Three days after it was concluded, as a necessary piece of severity for their defence¹⁴, to put all the Turks in Jerusalem to death; which was accordingly performed without favour to age or sex. The pretence was for fear of treason in them, if the emperor of Persia should besiege the city. And some slew them with the same zeal wherewith Saul slew the Gibeonites, and thought it unfit that these goats should live in the sheep's pasture. But noble Tancred was highly displeased hereat, because done in cold blood, it being no slip of an extemporary passion, but a studied and premeditated act; and that against pardon proclaimed, many of them having compounded and paid for their lives and liberty. Besides, the execution was merciless, upon sucking children, whose not speaking spake for them; and on women, whose weakness is a shield to defend them against a valiant man. To conclude: severity hot in the fourth degree, is little better than poison, and becometh cruelty itself; and this act seemeth to be of the same nature.

¹⁴ Besoldus, De Regibus Hierosol. ex variis auctoribus, p. 119.





BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—*Robert the Norman refuseth the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Godfrey of Bouillon chosen King. His Parentage, Education, and Virtues.*

EIGHT days after Jerusalem was won, they proceeded to the election of a king [July 23, 1099]; but they had so much choice that they had no choice at all; so many princes there were, and so equally eminent, that justice herself must suspend her verdict, not knowing which of them best deserved the crown. Yet it was their pleasure to pitch on Robert the Norman as on the man of highest descent, being son to a king; for great Hugh of France was already returned home, pretending the colic; though some impute it to cowardliness, and make the disease not in his bowels, but his heart.

Robert refused this honourable proffer¹; whether because he had an eye to the kingdom of England now void by the death of William Rufus, or because he accounted Jerusalem would be incumbered with continual war. But he who would not take the crown with the cross, was fain to take the cross without the crown, and never thrived afterwards in any thing he undertook². Thus they who refuse what God fairly carveth for them, do never after cut well for themselves. He lived to see much misery, and felt more, having his eyes put out by King Henry's brother; and at last found rest (when buried) in the new cathedral church of Gloucester, under a wooden monument³, bearing better proportion to his low fortunes than high birth. And since, in the same choir, he hath got the company of another prince as unfortunate as himself, King Edward the Second.

They go on to a second choice; and that they may know the natures of the princes the better, their servants were examined on oath to confess their masters' faults. The servants of Godfrey of Bouillon protested their master's only fault was this⁴, that when matins were done he would stay so long in the church, to know of the priest the mean-

¹ P. Æmylius, p. 137.

² Henry Hunting, lib. 7, p. 377.

³ Camden, Brit. p. 255.

⁴ Tyrius, lib. 9, cap. 12.

ing of every image and picture, that dinner at home was spoiled by his long tarrying. All admired hereat, that this man's worst vice should be so great a virtue, and unanimously chose him their king. He accepted the place, but refused the solemnity thereof, and would not wear a crown of gold there, where the Saviour of mankind had worn a crown of thorns.

He was son to Eustace, duke of Bouillon, and Ida his wife, daughter and heir to Godfrey, duke of Lorraine; born, saith Tyrius⁵, at Boulogne, a town in Champagne, on the English sea, which he mistaketh for Bouillon, up higher in the continent, near the country of Luxembourg. Such slips are incident to the pens of the best authors; yea, we may see Canterbury mistaken for Cambridge, not only in Munster⁶, but even in all our own printed statute-books in the twelfth of Richard the Second⁷. He was brought up in that school of valour, the court of Henry the Fourth the emperor. Whilst he lived there, there happened an intricate suit betwixt him and another prince about title of land; and because judges could not untie the knot, it was concluded the two princes should cut it asunder with their sword in a combat. Godfrey was very unwilling to fight⁸, not that he was the worse soldier, but the better Christian; he made the demur not in his courage, but in his conscience; as conceiving any private title for land not ground enough for a duel: yea, we may observe generally, that they who long most to fight duels are the first that surfeit of them. Notwithstanding, he yielded to the tyranny of custom, and after the fashion of the country entered the lists; when, at the first encounter, his sword brake, but he struck his adversary down with the hilt, yet so that he saved his life, and gained his own inheritance. Another parallel act of his valour was when being standard-bearer to the emperor, he with the imperial ensign killed Rodolphus, the duke of Saxony, in single fight, and fed the eagle on the bowels of that arch-rebel. His soul was enriched with many virtues, but the most orient of all was his humility, which took all men's affections without resistance; and though one saith, take away ambition, and you take away the spurs of a soldier; yet Godfrey, without those spurs, rode on most triumphantly.

⁵ Lib. 9, cap. 5.

⁶ Lib. 2, Cosmog. p. 50.

⁷ As Caius proveth it plainly out of Walsingham.

⁸ Quantum potuit renitebatur, Tyrius, lib. 9, cap. 7.

CHAP. II.—*The establishing of ecclesiastical Affairs, and Patriarchs in Antioch and Jerusalem. The Numerosity of Palestine Bishops.*

BUT now let us leave the helmets, and look on the mitres, and consider the ordering of ecclesiastical affairs. For the commonwealth is a ring, the church the diamond; both well set together, receive, and return lustre each on other. As soon as Antioch was taken, one Bernard (a reverend prelate) was made patriarch there with general consent. But more stir was there about that place in Jerusalem; for first Arnulphus, a worthless and vicious man, was by popular faction lifted up into the patriarch's chair¹; but with much ado was avoided, and Dabert, archbishop of Pisa, substituted in his room: one very wise and politic, an excellent bookman in reading of men, and otherwise well studied, especially as that age went, wherein a mediocrity was an eminency in learning. But he was infected with the humour of the clergy of that age, who counted themselves to want room except they jostled with princes. As for Arnulphus, he never ceased to trouble and molest this Dabert; and as a firebrand smoketh most when out of the chimney, so he after his displacing was most turbulent and unquiet, ever sitting on his skirts that sat in the patriarch's chair, till after many changes he struggled himself again into the place.

Under these patriarchs many archbishops and bishops were appointed, in the very places (as near as might be) where they were before the Saracens overrunning the country, and good maintenance assigned to most of them.

But at this time bishops were set too thick for all to grow great, and Palestine fed too many cathedral churches to have them generally fat. Lydda², Jamnia, and Joppa, three episcopal towns, were within four miles one of another. Yea, Tyrius³ makes fourteen bishops under the archbishop of Tyre, twenty under the archbishop of Cæsarea, under the archbishop of Scythopolis nine, twelve under the archbishop of Rabbah, besides twenty-five suffragan churches, which it seems were immediately depending on the patriarch of Jerusalem, without subordination to any archbishop. Surely many of these bishops (to use Bishop Langham's

¹ Fatuo populo suffragia inconsulta ministrante. Tyrius, lib. 9, cap. 4.

² Vide Tabulas Adricomii.

³ Lib. 14, cap. 12.

expression⁴) had high racks, but poor mangers. Neither let it stagger the reader if in that catalogue of Tyrius he light on many bishops' seats which are not to be found in Mercator, Ortelius, or any other geographer, for some of them were such poor places that they were ashamed to appear in a map, and fall so much under a geographer's notice that they fall not under it. For in that age bishops had their sees at poor and contemptible villages (as here in England, before the Conquest, who would suspect Sunning in Berkshire, or Dorchester, near Oxford, to have had cathedral churches?) till in the days of William the First bishops removed their seats to the principal towns in the shire⁵.

CHAP. III.—*The Saracens conquered at Askelon.*

MAHOMET'S tomb hung not so strong but now it began to shake, and was likely to fall. These victories of the Christians gave a deadly wound to that religion. Wherefore the Saracens combined themselves with the Turks to assist them, there being betwixt these two nations, I will not say an unity, but a conspiracy in the same superstition, so that therein they were like a nest of hornets, stir one and anger all. Wherefore coming out of Egypt under Ammiravissus, their general, at Askelon they gave the Christians battle [Aug. 12]. But God sent such a qualm of cowardliness over the hearts of these infidels, that a hundred thousand of them were quickly slain, so that it was rather an execution than a fight; and their rich tents, which seemed to be the exchequer of the east country, spoiled⁶; so that the pilgrims knew not how to value the wealth they found in them.

This victory obtained, such pilgrims as were disposed to return addressed themselves for their country; and these merchants for honour went home, having made a gainful adventure. Those that remained were advanced to signories in the land, as Tancred was made governor of Galilee. Nor will it be amiss to insert this story: Peter, bishop of Anagnia, in Italy, was purposed here to lead his life without taking care for his charge, when behold St. Magnus⁷, patron of that church, appeared to him in a vision, pretending himself to be a young man who had left his wife at

⁴ In the Archbishops of Cant. p. 143.

⁵ Fox, Martyrolog. p. 173. ⁶ Tyrius, lib. 9, cap. 12.

⁷ Baronius out of Brunus in anno 1099.

home, and was come to live in Jerusalem. "Fie," said Peter to him, "go home again to your wife; *whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.*" "Why, then," replied St. Magnus, "have you left your church a widow in Italy, and live here so far from her company?" This vision, though calculated for this one bishop, did generally serve for all the nonresidents which posted hither, and who paid not the lawful debt to their conscience, whilst by needless bonds they engaged themselves to their own will-worship. For though souls of men be light, because immaterial, yet they may prove a heavy burden to these careless pastors who were to answer for them.

After the return of these pilgrims, the heat of the Christians' victories in Syria was somewhat allayed: for Boemund⁸ prince of Antioch, marching into Mesopotamia, was taken prisoner, and Godfrey besieging the city of Antipatris, then called Assur, though hitherto he had been always a conqueror, was fain to depart with disgrace. So small a *remora* may stay that ship which saileth with the fairest gale of success.

CHAP. IV.—*The Original and Increase of the Hospitallers; their degenerating through Wealth into Luxury.*

ABOUT this time, under Gerard their first master, began the order of Knights-hospitallers¹. Indeed more anciently there were hospitallers in Jerusalem; but these were no knights: they had a kind of order, but no honour annexed to it; but were pure alms-men, whose house was founded, and they maintained, by the charity of the merchants of Amalphia, a city in Italy.

But now they had more stately buildings assigned unto them, their house dedicated to St. John of Jerusalem; Knights-hospitallers and those of St. John of Jerusalem being both the same; although learned Dr. Ridley² maketh them two distinct orders, for which our great antiquary³ doth justly reprove him. But such an error is venial; and it is a greater fault rigidly to censure, than to commit a small oversight. The one showeth himself man, in mistaking; the other no man, in not pardoning a light mistake.

⁸ Tyrius, lib. 9, cap. 20. Idem, lib. 9, cap. 19.

¹ Hospinian. De Orig. Mon. p. 165.

² In his View of Civil Law, p. 159.

³ Mr. Selden, in his preface of Tithes, p. 6.

To make one capable of the highest order of this knight-hood (for their servitors and priests might be of an inferior rank⁴) the party must thus be qualified: eighteen years old at the least; of an able body; not descended of Jewish or Turkish parents; no bastard, except bastard to a prince, there being honour in that dishonour, as there is light in the very spots of the moon. Descended he must be of worshipful parentage. They wore a red belt with a white cross; and on a black cloak the white cross of Jerusalem, which is a cross crossed, or five crosses together, in memory of our Saviour's five wounds. Yet was there some difference betwixt their habit in peace and in war. Their profession was to fight against infidels, and to secure pilgrims coming to the sepulchre; and they vowed poverty, chastity, and obedience. Reimundus de Podio, their second master, made some additional to their profession, as, They must receive the sacrament thrice a year, hear mass once a day if possible; they were to be no merchants, no usurers, to fight no private duels, to stand neuters, and to take no side, if the princes in Christendom should fall out⁵.

But it is given to most religious orders, to be clear in the spring, and miry in the stream. These Hospitallers afterwards getting wealth, unlaced themselves from the strictness of their first institution, and grew loose into all licentiousness. What was their obedience to their master, but rebellion against the patriarch their first patron? as shall be showed hereafter. What was their poverty but a cozenage of the world, whilst their order sued *in formá pauperis*, and yet had nineteen thousand manors in Christendom belonging unto them⁶? Neither will it be *scandalum magnatum* to their lordships, to say what St. Bernard⁷ speaketh of their chastity, how they lived *inter scorta et epulas*, betwixt bawds and banquets. And no wonder if their forced virginity was the mother of much uncleanness; for commonly those who vow not to go the highway of God's ordinance, do haunt base and unwarrantable by-paths.

I will not forestall the history, to show how these Hospitallers were afterwards knights of Rhodes, and at this day of Malta, but will conclude with the ceremonies used at their creation, because much material stuff no doubt may be picked out of their formalities.

⁴ Hospinian. De Orig. Mon. p. 165.

⁵ Hospinian. ut prius. ⁶ Camd. Brit. p. 311.

⁷ Cited by Volaterian.

There is delivered them, 1. a sword⁸, in token that they must be valiant; 2. with a cross hilt, their valour must defend religion; 3. with this sword they are struck three times over the shoulders, to teach them patiently to suffer for Christ; 4. they must wipe the sword, their life must be undefiled; 5. gilt spurs are put on them, because they are to scorn wealth at their heels; 6. and then they take a taper in their hands, for they are to lighten others by their exemplary lives; 7. and so go to hear mass, where we leave them.

At the same time knights of the sepulchre were also ordained, which for their original and profession are like to these Knights-hospitallers⁹. The order continueth to this day. The padre guardian of Jerusalem maketh them of such as have seen the sepulchre; they should be gentlemen by birth, but the padre carrieth a chancery in his bosom, to mitigate the rigour of this common law, and will admit of him that bringeth fat enough, though no blood; as of late he made an apothecary of Aleppo of that honour; so that there the sword of knighthood is denied to none who bring a good sheath with them, and have a purse to pay soundly for it.

CHAP. V.—*The Scuffling betwixt the King and Patriarch about the City of Jerusalem. The Issue thereof.*

NOT long after, there was started a controversy of great consequence betwixt the king and patriarch; the patriarch claiming the cities of Jerusalem and Joppa, with the appurtenances; the king refusing to surrender them.

The patriarch pleaded, that these places anciently belonged to his predecessors. He set before the king the heinousness of sacrilege, how great a sin it was when princes, who should be nursing fathers and suckle the church, shall suck from it; and showed how the commonwealth may grow fat, but never healthful, by feeding on the church's goods.

On the other side the king alleged, that the Christian princes had now purchased Jerusalem with their blood, and bestowed it on him; that the patriarch's overgrown title was drowned in this late conquest, from which, as from a new foundation, all must build their claims who challenge any right to any part in that city. Secondly, he pleaded, it was unreasonable that the king of Jerusalem

⁸ Sand. Trav. p. 229.

⁹ Idem, p. 159.

should have nothing in Jerusalem (as at this day the Roman emperor is a very cipher, without power or profit in Rome) and should live rather as a sojourner than a prince in his royal city, confined to an airy title, whilst the patriarch should have all the command.

To this the patriarch answered, that the Christians' new conquest could not cancel his ancient right, which was enjoyed even under the Saracens; that this voyage was principally undertaken for advancing the church, and not to restore her only to her liberty, and withhold from her her lands, so that in this respect she should find better usage from her foes than from her children. If we mistake not, the chief pinch of the cause lieth on the patriarch's proof, that the lands he demanded formerly belonged to his predecessors; and we find him to fail in the main issue of the matter. True it was, that for the last thirty years, the patriarchs, on condition they should repair and fortify the walls of Jerusalem, were possessed of a fourth part of the city, even by grant from Bomensor the emperor of the Saracens, in the year of our Lord 1063. But that ever he had the whole city, either by this or by any previous grant, it appeareth not in Tyrius, who saith moreover¹, We wonder for what reason the lord patriarch should raise this controversy against Duke Godfrey.

Let me add, that this our author is above exception; for being both a politic statesman and pious prelate, no doubt his pen striketh the true and even stroke betwixt king and patriarch. Besides, he might well see the truth of this matter, writing in a well proportioned distance of time from it. Those who live too near the stories they write, oftentimes willingly mistake through partiality; and those who live too far off, are mistaken by uncertainties, the footsteps of truth being almost worn out with time.

But to return to Godfrey, who though unwilling at first, yet afterwards not only on Candlemas day restored to the patriarch the fourth part of the city, but also on the Easter following gave him all Jerusalem, Joppa, and whatsoever he demanded; conditionally that the king should hold it of the patriarch till such time as he could conquer Babylon, or some other royal city fit for him to keep his court in. If in the mean time Godfrey died without issue, the patriarch was to have it presently delivered unto him.

We will be more charitable than those, that say that the

¹ Lib. 9, cap. 16.

patriarch herein did bewitch and bemad Godfrey to make this large donation to him, by torturing his conscience at the confession of his sins². Only we may question the discretion of this prince in giving a gift of so large a size; for Charity's eyes must be open as well as her hands; though she giveth away her branches, not to part with the root.

And let the reader observe, that Godfrey at the time of this his bountiful grant lay on his death-bed, sick of that irrecoverable disease which ended him. How easily may importunity stamp any impression on those whom desperate sickness hath softened! And if the sturdiest man nigh death may be affrighted into good works for fear of purgatory, no wonder if devout Godfrey were pliable to any demand. Pierce Plowman³ maketh a witty wonder, why friars should covet rather to confess and bury, than to christen children; intimating it proceeded from covetousness, there being gain to be gotten by the one, none by the other. And this was the age wherein the convents got their best living by the dying, which made them (contrary to all other people) most to worship the sun setting.

CHAP. VI.—*Godfrey's Death and Burial.*

AUTHORS differ on the death of this noble king, some making him to die of that long wasting sickness, others of the plague¹. It may be the plague took him out of the hands of that lingering disease, and quickly cut off what that had been long in fretting. He died July the 18th, having reigned one year wanting five days. A prince valiant, pious, bountiful to the church; for, besides what he gave to the patriarch, he founded canons in the Temple of the Sepulchre, and a monastery in the vale of Jehoshaphat.

We would say his death was very unseasonable (leaving the orphan state not only in its minority, but in its infancy), but that that fruit which to man's apprehension is blown down green and untimely, is gathered full ripe in God's providence. He was buried in the Temple of the Sepulchre, where his tomb is unviolated at this day, whether out of a religion the Turks bear to the place, or out of honour to his memory, or out of a valiant scorn to fight against dead bones; or perchance the Turks are minded as John king

² Centuriatores, centur. 12, col. 490. De schism.

³ In his Pass. 11.

¹ P. Æmilius, lib. 5.

of England was, who being wished by a courtier to untomb the bones of one who whilst he was living had been his great enemy, "Oh no," said King John, "would all mine enemies were as honourably buried!"

CHAP. VII.—*Baldwin chosen King. He keepeth Jerusalem in despite of the Patriarch.*

GODFREY being dead, the Christians with a joint consent despatched an embassy to Baldwin his brother [1100], count of Edessa (a city in Arabia¹, the lord whereof had adopted this Baldwin to be his heir) entreated him to accept of the kingdom; which honourable offer he courteously embraced.

A prince whose body nature cut of the largest size, being, like Saul², higher by the head than his subjects. And though the Goths had a law always to choose a short thick man for their king³, yet surely a goodly stature is most majestic. His hair and beard brown, face fair, with an eagle's nose; which in the Persian kings was anciently observed as a mark of magnanimity⁴. Bred he was a scholar, entered into orders, and was prebendary in the churches of Rheims, Liege, and Cambray⁵; but afterwards turned secular prince, as our Ethelwolf, who exchanged the mitre of Winchester for the crown of England⁶. Yet Baldwin put not off his scholarship with his habit, but made good use thereof in his reign. For though bookishness may unactive, yet learning doth accomplish a prince, and maketh him sway his sceptre the steadier.

He was properly the first king of Jerusalem (his brother Godfrey never accounted more than a duke) and was crowned on Christmas day [Dec. 25]. The reason that made him assume the name of a king was thereby to strike the greater terror into the Pagans⁷. Thus our kings of England from the days of King John were styled but lords of Ireland, till Henry VIII. first entitled himself king, because lord was slighted by the seditious rebels⁸. As for that religious scruple which Godfrey made, to wear a crown of gold where Christ wore one of thorns, Baldwin easily dispensed therewith. And surely in these things the

¹ Plin. lib. 5, cap. 24.

² Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 2.

³ Munst. Cosmog. lib. 3, p. 264.

⁴ Pant. in Vita Caroli V.

⁵ Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 1.

⁶ Fox, Martyrol. p. 136.

⁷ Munst. Cosmog. p. 1008.

⁸ Camden, Brit. p. 732.

mind is all; a crown might be refused with pride, and worn with humility.

But before his coronation there was a tough bickering about the city of Jerusalem. Dabert the patriarch, on the death of Godfrey, devoured Jerusalem and the tower of David in his hope, but coming to take possession, found the place too hot for him. For Garnier earl of Gretz, in the behalf of King Baldwin (who was not as yet returned from Edessa) manned it against him. But so it happened, that this valiant earl died three days after, which by Dabert was counted a just judgment of God upon him for his sacrilege⁹. Now though it be piety to impute all events to God's hand, yet to say that this man's death was for such a sin, sheweth too much presumption towards God, and too little charity towards our neighbour. Indeed if sudden death had singled out this earl alone, it had somewhat favoured their censure; but there was then a general mortality in the city which swept away thousands¹⁰; and which is most material, what this patriarch interpreted sacrilege, others accounted loyalty to his sovereign. As for that donation of the city of Jerusalem, and tower of David, which Godfrey gave to the patriarch, some thought that this gift overthrew itself with its own greatness, being so immoderately large; others supposed it was but a personal act of Godfrey, and therefore died with the giver, as conceiving his successors not obliged to perform it, because it was unreasonable that a prince should in such sort fetter and restrain those who should come after him. Sure it is, that Baldwin having both the stronger sword, and possession of the city, kept it perforce, whilst the patriarch took that leave which is allowed to losers, to talk, chafe, and complain; sending his bemoaning letters to Boemund prince of Antioch¹¹, inviting him to take arms, and by violence to recover the church's right; but from him received the useless assistance of his pity, and that was all.

CHAP. VIII.—*The Church Story during this King's Reign. A Chain of successive Patriarchs—Dabertus, Ebremarus, Gibelline, and Arnulphus. Their several Characters.*

AFTERWARDS, this breach betwixt the king and patriarch was made up by the mediation of some friends [1102]; but the skin only was drawn over, not dead

⁹ Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 4.

¹⁰ Ursperg, p. 236.

¹¹ Tyrius, lib. 10.

flesh drawn out of the wound, and Arnulphus (whom we mentioned before), discontented for his loss of the patriarch's place, still kept the sore raw betwixt them. At last Dabertus the patriarch was fain to flee to Antioch, where he had plentiful maintenance allowed him by Bernard, patriarch of that see [1103]. But he was too high in the instep to wear another man's shoes, and conceived himself to be but in a charitable prison whilst he lived on another's benevolence. Wherefore hence he hasted to Rome¹, complained to the pope, and received from his holiness a command to King Baldwin to be reestablished in the patriarch's place; but returning home died by the way at Messina in Sicily, being accounted seven years patriarch, four at home, and three in banishment.

1107.] Whilst Dabertus was thrust out, one Ebremarus was made patriarch against his will by King Baldwin. A holy and devout man, but he had more of the dove than the serpent, and was none of the deepest reach. He, hearing that he was complained of to the pope for his irregular election, posted to Rome to excuse himself, showing he was chosen against his will; and though preferment may not be snatched, it needs not be thrust away. But all would not do; it was enough to put him out, because the king put him in. Wherefore he was commanded to return home, and to wait the definitive sentence, which Gibellinus archbishop of Arles, and the pope's legate, should pronounce in the matter.

Gibellinus, coming to Jerusalem, concluded the election of Ebremarus to be illegal and void, and was himself chosen patriarch in his place, and the other in reverence of his piety made archbishop of Cæsarea. And though Arnulphus (the firebrand of this church), desired the patriarch's place for himself, yet was he better content with Gibellinus's election, because he was a thorough old man, and hoped that candle would quickly go out that was in the socket.

To this Gibellinus King Baldwin granted, that all places which he or his successors should win, should be subject to his jurisdiction²; and this also was confirmed by Pope Paschal II. But Bernard, patriarch of Antioch, found himself much aggrieved hereat³, because many of these cities, by the ancient canon of the council of Nice, were

¹ Tyrius, lib. 11, cap. 4.

² Idem, lib. 11, cap. 28.

³ Baronius in anno 1108.

subject to his church. At last the pope took the matter into his hand, and stroked the angry patriarch of Antioch into gentleness with good language. He showed, how since the council of Nice the country had got a new face; ancient mountains were buried, rivers drowned in oblivion, and they new christened with other names; yea, the deluge of the Saracens' tyranny had washed away the bounds of the church's jurisdictions, that now they knew not their own severals, where Mahometanism so long had made all common and waste. He desired him therefore to be contented with this new division of their jurisdictions, especially because it was reasonable, that the king of Jerusalem and his successors should dispose of those places, which they should win with their own swords. Bernard, perceiving hereby how his holiness stood affected in the business, contented his conscience that he had set his title on foot, and then quietly let it fall to the ground, as counting it no policy to show his teeth where he durst not bite.

Gibellinus never laid claim to the city of Jerusalem, whether it was because in thankfulness for this large ecclesiastical power which King Baldwin had bestowed upon him, or that his old age was too weak to strive with so strong an adversary. He sat four years in his chair, and Arnulphus, thinking he went too slow to the grave, is suspected to have given him something to have mended his pace, and was himself substituted in his room by the especial favour of King Baldwin.

1112]. This Arnulphus was called *mala corona*, as if all vices met in him to dance a round. And no wonder if the king, being himself wantonly disposed, advanced such a man; for generally, loose patrons cannot abide to be pinched and pent with over-strict chaplains. Besides, it was policy in him to choose such a patriarch as was liable to exceptions for his vicious life, that so if he began to bark against the king, his mouth might be quickly stopped. Arnulphus was as quiet as a lamb, and durst never challenge his interest in Jerusalem from Godfrey's donation, as fearing to wrestle with the king, who had him on the hip, and could out him at pleasure for his bad manners. Amongst other vices he was a great church robber, who to make Emmelor his niece a princess, and to marry Eustace prince of Sidon, gave her the city of Jericho for her dowry, and lands belonging to his see worth five thousand crowns yearly. And though papists may pretend that marriage causeth covetousness in the clergy, yet we shall find when

the prelacy were constrained to a single life, that their nephews ate more church bread than now the children of married ministers. Yea, some popes not only fed their bastards with church milk, but even cut off the church's breasts for their pompous and magnificent maintenance. And thus having dispatched the story of the church in this king's reign, we come now to handle the business of the commonwealth entirely by itself.

CHAP. IX.—*A mountain-like Army of new Adventurers, after long and hard Travail, delivered of a Mouse. Alexius's Treachery.*

THE fame of the good success in Palestine, summoned a new supply of other pilgrims out of Christendom [1101]. Germany, and other places which were sparing at the first voyage, made now amends with double liberality. The chief adventurers were, Guelpho duke of Bavaria (who formerly had been a great champion of the popes against Henry the emperor, and from him they of the papal faction were denominated Guelphes¹, in distinction from the imperial party which were called Gibellines). Hugh brother to the king of France, and Stephen, earl of Blois (both which had much suffered in their reputation for deserting their fellows in the former expedition, and therefore they sought to unstain their credits by going again. Stephen earl of Burgundy, William duke of Aquitain, Frederick count of Bogen, Hugh brother to the earl of Toulouse, besides many great prelates, Diemo archbishop of Salzburg, the bishops of Millain and Pavie², which led fifty thousand out of Lombardy, the total sum amounting to two hundred and fifty thousand. All stood on the tiptoes of expectation to see what so great an army would achieve; men commonly measuring victories by the multitudes of the soldiers. But they did nothing memorable, save only that so many went so far to do nothing. Their sufferings are more famous than their deeds, being so consumed with plague, famine, and the sword, that Conrad abbot of Ursperg, who went and wrote this voyage, believeth that not a thousand of all these came into Palestine³, and those so poor that their bones would scarce hold together, so that they were fitter to be sent into an hospital than to march into the field, having nothing about them wherewith to affright their

¹ Pantal. De Hist. Germ. part 2, p. 151.

² Ursperg. p. 237.

³ In Chronico, p. 239.

enemies, except it were the ghost-like ghastliness of their famished faces. The army that came out of Lombardy were so eaten up by the swords of the Turks, that no fragments of them were left, nor news to be heard what was become of them; and no wonder, being led by prelates unexperienced in martial affairs, which though perchance great clerks, were now to turn over a new leaf, which they had no skill to read. Luther was wont to say⁴, that he would be unwilling to be a soldier in that army where priests were captains, because the church, and not the camp, was their proper place; whereas going to war, they willingly outed themselves of God's protection, being out of their vocation.

But the main matter which made this whole voyage miscarry in her travail, was the treachery of the midwife through whose hands it was to pass. For Alexius the Grecian emperor feared, lest betwixt the Latins in the east in Palestine, and west in Europe, as betwixt two mill-stones, his empire lying in the midst should be ground to powder. Whereupon, as these pilgrims went through his country, he did them all possible mischief, still under the pretence of kindness, (what hinderer to a false helper?) calling the chief captains of the army his sons, but they found it true, the more courtesy, the more craft. Yea, this deep dissembler would put off his vizard in private, and profess to his friends that he delighted as much to see the Turks and these Christians in battle, as to see mastiff dogs fight together⁵; and that which side soever lost, yet he himself would be a gainer⁶.

But when they had passed Grecia, and had crossed the Bosphorus (otherwise called the arm of St. George), entering into the dominion of the Turks, they were for thirty days exposed a mark to their arrows. And though this great multitude was never stabbed with any mortal defeat in a set battle, yet they consumed away by degrees, the cowardly Turks striking them when their hands were pinioned up in the straits of unknown passages. The generals bestrewed the country about with their corpses. Great Hugh of France was buried at Tarsus in Cilicia; duke Guelpho, at Paphos in Cyprus; Diemo the archbishop of Salzburg saw his own heart cut out⁷, and was

⁴ Cited by Lampad. Mellif. Histor. part 3, p. 268.

⁵ Besoldus.

⁶ P. Æmilius, p. 140.

⁷ Munst. Cosmog. p. 640.

martyred by the Turks at Chorazin⁸; and God (saith the author) manifested by the event, that the war was not pleasing unto him.

CHAP. X.—*Antipatris and Cæsarea won by the Christians.
The Variety of King Baldwin's Success.*

MEANTIME King Baldwin was employed with better success in Palestine; for hitherto Joppa was the only port the Christians had; but now by the assistance of the Genoan fleet (who for their pains were to have a third part of the spoil, and a whole street to themselves of every city they took¹), Baldwin won most considerable havens along the Midland Sea. He began with Antipatris, to ransom the Christian honour which was mortgaged here because Godfrey was driven away from hence; and no wonder, having no shipping², whereas that army which takes a strong harbour, otter-like, must swim at sea as well as go on ground.

Next he took Cæsarea-Stratonis, built and so named in the honour of Cæsar Augustus, by Herod the Great, who so politicly poised himself³, that he sat upright whilst the wheel of fortune turned round under him. Let Antony win, let Augustus win, all one to him; by contrary winds he sailed to his own ends. Cæsarea taken, Baldwin at Rhamula put the Turks to a great overthrow.

But see the chance of war; few days after at the same place he received a great defeat by the infidels, wherein besides many others, the two Stephens, earls of Burgundy and Blois, were slain. This was the first great overthrow the Christians suffered in Palestine, and needs must blows be grievous to them who were not used to be beaten. The king was reported slain, but fame deserved to be pardoned for so good a lie, which for the present much disheartened the Christians, a great part of the soldiers' courage being wrapped up in the life of the general.

Baronius (as bold as any Bethshemite to pry into the ark of God's secrets⁴) saith, this was a just punishment on Baldwin for detaining the church's goods⁵. But to leave hidden things to God, the apparent cause of his overthrow was his own rashness⁶, being desirous to engross all the

⁸ Ursperg. p. 238.

¹ Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 14.

² Tyrius, lib. 9, cap. 18.

³ Josephus. ⁴ 1 Sam. vi.

⁵ In Annal. Eccles. anno 1100, et rursus, anno 1104.

⁶ Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 20.

dit alone, without sending for succours and supplies from neighbours. He assaulted his numerous enemies with handful of men, and so brake himself, with covetousness purchase more honour than he could pay for. And when he discovered his want of judgment, being indeed an arrow well feathered, but with a blunt pile; he was swift, but did not sink deep. Thus his credit lay bleeding, but he quickly stanch'd it. The Pagans, little expecting to be reencountered, gave themselves over to mirth and jollity (as security oftentimes maketh the sword fall out of their hands from whom no force could wrest it) when Baldwin coming on them with fresh soldiers, smuck them with the back blows of an unexpected enemy, which always pierce the deepest, routed them and put them to the flight. This his victory followed so suddenly after his overthrow, that some mention not the overthrow at all, but the victory only; as that good horseman is scarce perceived to be thrown, that quickly recovereth the saddle.

CHAP. XI.—*The Conquest of sundry fair Havens by the Christians. Ptolemais, etc.*

WHILST the king was thus busied in battle [1102], Tancred prince of Galilee was not idle, but enlarged the Christian dominions with the taking of Apamea and Laodicea. These cities in Celosyria were built by Antiochus¹, and they agreed so well together, that they were called sisters; and as in concord, so in condition they went hand in hand, being now both conquered together. Ptolemais next stooped to the Christian yoke [1104], named from Ptolemeus Philometer king of Egypt; a city on the Mediterranean, of a triangular form, having two sides washed with the sea, the third regarding the champion. The Genoan galleys being seventy in number, did the main service in conquering, and had granted them for their reward large profits from the harbour, a church to themselves, and jurisdiction over a fourth part of the city. This Ptolemais was afterwards the very seat of the holy war. Let me mind the reader of a Latin proverb, *Lis Ptolemaica*²; that is, a long and constant strife, so called, from Ptolemais, a froward old woman who was never out of angling. But may not the proverb as well be verified

¹ Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 23. Idem, cap. 28.

² Vide Erasm. Adag.

of this city, in which there was ninescore years' fighting against the Turks?

With worse success did Baldwin count of Edessa, and Earl Joceline besiege Charran in Mesopotamia³; for when it was ready to be surrendered, the Christian captains fell out amongst themselves, were defeated by the Pagans, and the two forenamed earls taken prisoners. This Charran is famous for Abraham's living, and his father Terah's dying there⁴; and in the same place rich Crassus the Roman vomited up the sacrilegious goods he had devoured of the temple of Jerusalem, and had his army overthrown⁵. Nor here may we overpass, how Boemund prince of Antioch, with a great navy, spoiled the harbours of Grecia [1107], to be revenged of treacherous Alexius the emperor. Voluntaries for this service he had enough⁶, all desiring to have a lash at the dog in the manger, and every man's hand itching to throw a cudgel at him; who like a nut tree must be manured by beating, or else would never bear fruit; yet on some conditions an agreement at last was made betwixt them⁷.

To return to Palestine. The next city that felt the victorious arms of the Christians was Biblus; a good haven, and built by Heveus, the sixth son of Canaan. Here Adonis was anciently worshiped, whose untimely death by a boar Venus so much bemoaned; and the fable is moralized, when lust lamenteth the loss of beauty consumed by age. Nor did Tripoli hold out long after [1109]; so called, because jointly built by the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Aradites. And Berytus (since Barutus) accompanied her neighbour, and both of them were yielded unto the Christians. The king created one Bertram, a well-deserving nobleman, earl of Tripoli, who did homage to the king for his place, which was accounted a title of great honour, as being one of the four tetrarchies of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

CHAP. XII.—*The Description of Sidon and Tyre; the one taken, the other besieged in vain, by Baldwin, 1110.*

SIDON is the most ancient city of Phœnicia; and though the proud Grecians counted all Barbarians besides themselves, yet Phœnicia was the schoolmistress of Grecia, and first taught her her alphabet. For Cadmus, a Phœnician

³ Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 30. ⁴ Gen. xi. 31.

⁵ Josephus. ⁶ Tyrius, lib. 11, cap. 6. ⁷ Idem.

born, first invented and brought letters to Thebes. Sidon had her name from the eldest son of Canaan¹, and was famous for the finest crystal glasses which here were made. The glassy sand was fetched forty miles off, from the river Belus; but it could not be made fusile till it was brought hither²; whether for want of tools, or from some secret sullen humour therein, we will not dispute. This city anciently was of great renown, but her fortune being as brittle as her glasses, she was fain to find neck for every one of the monarchs' yokes; and now at last (by the assistance of the Danish and Norwegian fleet³) was subdued by the Christians [Dec. 19. 1112].

Flushed with this conquest, they next besieged Tyre. Sea and land, nature and art, consented together to make this city strong; for it was seated in an island, save that it was tacked to the continent with a small neck of land, which was fortified with many walls and towers. It is questionable whether the strength or wealth of this city was greater; but out of question that the pride was greater than either. Here the best purples were dyed, a colour even from the beginning destined to courts and magistracy; and here the richest clothes were embroidered and curiously wrought. And though generally those who are best with their fingers are worst with their arms, yet the Tyrians were also stout men, able mariners, and the planters of the noblest colonies in the world. As their city was the daughter of Sidon, so was it mother to Rome's rival Carthage, Leptis, Utica, Cadiz, and Nola. The most plentiful proof they gave of their valour was, when for three years they defended themselves against Nebuchadnezzar; and afterwards stopped the full career of Alexander's conquests; so that his victorious army which did fly into other countries, was glad to creep into this city. Yet after seven months' siege (such is the omnipotency of industry) he forced it, and stripped this lady of the sea naked beyond modesty and mercy, putting all therein to the sword that resisted, and hanged up two thousand of the prime citizens in a rank along the sea-shore.

Yet afterwards Tyre outgrew these her miseries, and attained, though not to her first giant-like, yet to a competent proportion of greatness. At this time wherein King Baldwin besieged it, it was of great strength and impor-

¹ Gen. x. 15.

² Sand. Trav. p. 210.

³ Tyrius, lib. 11, cap. 14.

tance, insomuch that, finding it a weight too heavy for his shoulders, he was fain to break off his siege and depart.

With worse success he afterwards did rashly give battle to the vast army of the Persian general [1113], wherein he lost many men, all his baggage, and escaped himself with great difficulty⁵.

CHAP. XIII.—*The pleasurable Voyages of King Baldwin, and his Death.*

AFTER the tempest of a long war, a calm came at last, and King Baldwin had a five years' vacation of peace in his old age; in which time he disported himself with many voyages for pleasure: as one to the Red Sea [1116], not so called from the redness of the water or sand, as some without any colour have conceited, but from the neighbouring Edomites, whom the Grecians called Erythreans, or red men, truly translating the Hebrew name of Edomites: they had their name of redness from their father Edom¹. And here Baldwin surveyed the country, with the nature and strength thereof. Another journey he took afterwards into Egypt² [1117], as conceiving himself engaged in honour to make one inroad into that country, in part of payment of those many excursions the Egyptians had made into his kingdom. He took the city of Pharamia³, anciently called Rameses, and gave the spoil thereof to his soldiers. This work being done, he began his play, and entertained the time with viewing that riddle of nature, the river Nile, whose stream is the confluence of so many wonders: first, for its undiscoverable fountain; though some late geographers, because they would be held more intelligent than others, have found the head of the Nile in their own brains, and make it to flow from a fountain they fancy in the mountains of the moon, in the south of Africa; then for the strange creatures bred therein, as river bulls, horses, and crocodiles. But the chiefest wonder is the yearly increasing thereof from the 17th of June to the midst of September⁴, overflowing all Egypt, and the banks of all human judgment to give the true reason thereof.

Much time Baldwin spent in beholding this river,

⁵ Tyrius, lib. 11, cap. 19.

¹ Scalig. on Festus in Ægyptius, et Fuller, Miscell. lib. 4, cap. 20.

² Tyrius, lib. 11, cap. 31.

³ Calvisius makes it to be won at the former voyage.

⁴ Sand. Trav. p. 94.

wherein he took many fishes, and his death in eating them ; for a new surfeit revived the grief of an old wound, which he many years before received at the siege of Ptolemais. His sickness put him in mind of his sins, conscience speaking loudest when men begin to grow speechless ; and especially he grieved that, having another wife alive, he had married the countess of Sicily, the relict of Earl Roger ; but now, heartily sorrowful for his fault, he sent away this his last wife : yet we read not that he received his former again. Other faults he would have amended, but was prevented by death. And no doubt, where the deed could not be present, the desire was a sufficient proxy. He died at Laris, a city in the road from Egypt, and was brought to Jerusalem, and buried on Palm Sunday, in the Temple of the Sepulchre, in the eighteenth year of his reign [March 26, 1118].

A prince superior to his brother Godfrey in learning, equal in valour, inferior in judgment ; rash, precipitate, greedy of honour, but swallowing more than he could digest, and undertaking what he was not able to perform ; little affected to the clergy, or rather to their temporal greatness, especially when it came in competition with his own ; much given to women (besides the three wives he had, first marrying Gutrera, an English woman ; after her death, Tafor, an Armenian lady ; and, whilst she yet survived, the countess of Sicily), yet he had no child : God commonly punishing wantonness with barrenness. For the rest, we refer the reader to the dull epitaph written on his tomb, which (like the verses of that age) runneth in a kind of rhythm, though it can scarce stand on true feet :—

*Rex Baldwinus, Judas alter Maccabæus,
Spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque ;
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,
Cedar^s, Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus ;
Proh dolor ! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.*

Baldwin, another Maccabee for might ;
Hope, help of state, of church, and both's delight ;
Cedar, with Egypt's Dan, of him afraid,
Bloody Damascus to him tribute paid :
Alas ! here in this tomb is laid.

Let him who pleaseth play the critic on the divers readings ; and whether by *Dan* be meant the Souldan, or whe-

ther it relateth to the conceit that Antichrist shall come of the tribe of Dan. But perchance the text is not worth a comment.

CHAP. XIV.—*Baldwin the Second chosen King. Prince Eustace peaceably renounceth his Right.*

IT happened the same day King Baldwin was buried, that Baldwin de Burgo, his kinsman, and count of Edessa, came casually into the city, intending only there to keep his Easter, when behold the Christian princes met together for the election of a new king. The greater part did centre their suffrages on Prince Eustace, brother to the two former kings, but then absent in France. They alleged that it was not safe to break the chain of succession, where the inversion of order bringeth all to confusion; and that it was high ingratitude to the memories of Godfrey and Baldwin to exclude their brother from the crown, especially he being fit in all points to be a king, wanting nothing but that he wanted to be there; that in the mean time some might be deputed to lock up all things safe, and to keep the keys of the state till he should arrive.

On the other side, some objected the dangers of an *interregnum*, how when a state is headless, every malecontent would make head; inconveniences in another country would be mischiefs here, where they lived in the mouth of their enemies; and therefore to stay for a king was the way to lose the kingdom.

Then Joceline, prince of Tiberias, a man of great authority, offered himself a moderator in this difference, and counselled both sides to this effect: to proceed to a present election, and therein to be directed, not confined by succession; though they missed the next, let them take one of Godfrey's kindred. As the case now stood, he must be counted next in blood that was next at hand; and this was Baldwin, count of Edessa, on whom he bestowed most superlative praises. All were much affected with these his commendations, for they knew that Joceline was his sworn adversary, and concluded that it must needs be a mighty weight of worth in Baldwin, which pressed out praise from the mouth of his enemy; though indeed private ends prompted him to speak this speech, who hoped himself to get the earldom of Edessa when Baldwin should be translated to Jerusalem. However, his words took effect, and Baldwin hereupon was chosen king [April 2, 1118], and crowned on Easter day by Arnulphus, the patriarch¹.

¹ Tyrius, lib. 12, cap. 4.

Meantime some secretly were sent to Prince Eustace to come and challenge the crown. But he, hearing that another was already in possession, though he was on his journey coming, quietly went back again. A large alms, to give away a kingdom out of his charity to the public cause.

Baldwin was of a proper personage, and able body, born nigh Rheims, in France, son to Hugh, count of Rorstet, and Millesent, his wife. He was exceedingly charitable to the poor, and pious towards God; witness the brawn on his hands and knees made with continual praying: valiant also, and excellently well seen in all martial affairs.

We had almost forgotten what happened in this year, the death of Alexius the Grecian emperor, that arch-hypocrite and grand enemy of this war; on whom we may bestow this epitaph:—

If he of men the best doth know to live
Who best knows to dissemble, justly then
To thee, Alexius, we this praise must give,
That thou to live didst know the best of men.
And this was it at last did stop thy breath,
Thou knew'st not how to counterfeit with death.

His son, Calo-Johannes, succeeded him in his empire, of whom we shall have much cause to speak hereafter.

CHAP. XV.—*The ecclesiastical Affairs in this King's Reign.*

ACCORDING to our wonted method, let us first rid out of the way church matters in this king's reign, that so we may have the more room to follow the affairs of the commonwealth. We left Arnulphus, the last patriarch of Jerusalem; since which time the bad savour of his life came to the pope's nose, who sent a legate to depose him. But Arnulphus hasted to Rome with much money¹, and there bought himself to be innocent, so that he enjoyed the place during his life.

Guarimund succeeded in his place [1119], a very religious man, by whom God gave the Christians many victories. He called a council at Neapolis or Sichem, wherein many wholesome things were concluded for reformation of manners. Betwixt him and William, archbishop of Tyre (an Englishman), there arose a difference, because this archbishop would not receive his confirmation of him (from whom, by ancient right, he should take it), but from the

¹ Tyrius, lib. 11, cap. 26.

pope, counting it the most honour to hold of the highest landlord. And indeed the pope for gain confirmed him, though he should have sent him to the patriarch. But the court of Rome careth not though men steal their corn, so be it they bring it to their mills to grind.

After Guarimund's death [1128], Stephen, abbot of St. John de Valia, was chosen patriarch; once a cavalier, but afterward, laying down the sword, he took up the word, and entered into orders. He awaked the patriarch's title to Jerusalem, which had slept during his three predecessors, and challenged it very imperiously of the king, for he was a man of spirit and mettle. And indeed he had too much life to live long. For the king, fearing what flame this spark might kindle, and finding him to be an active man, gave him (as it is suspected) a little more active poison, which cut him off in the midst of his age and beginning of his projects.

The king coming to him when he lay on his death-bed, asked him how he did: to whom he answered³, "My lord, for the present I am as you would have me" [1130]. A cruel murder, if true; but it is strange, that he whose hands (as we have said) were hardened with frequent prayer, should soften them again in innocent blood. Wherefore we will not condemn the memory of a king on doubtful evidence. The patriarch's place was filled with William, prior of the Sepulchre, a Fleming; a man better beloved than learned.

CHAP. XVI.—*Knights-Templars and Teutonics instituted.*

ABOUT this time the two great orders of Templars and Teutonics appeared in the world [1119]. The former under Hugh de Paganis, and Ganfred of St. Omer, their first founders. They agreed in profession with the Hospitallers, and performed it alike, vowing poverty, chastity, and obedience, and to defend pilgrims coming to the sepulchre. It is falsely fathered on St. Bernard, that he appointed them their rule¹; who prescribeth not what they should do, but only describeth what they did²: namely, how they were never idle, mending their old clothes when wanting other employment; never played at chess or dice, never hawked nor hunted, beheld no stage-plays; arming themselves with faith within, with steel without; aiming more at strength

³ Tyrius, lib. 13, cap. 25.

¹ Baronius, in anno 1127.

² Quarto et quinto cap. exhort.

than state; to be feared, not admired; to strike terror with their valour, not stir covetousness with their wealth in the heart of their enemies. Other sweet praises of them let him who pleaseth fetch from the mouth of this mellifluous doctor.

Indeed, at first they were very poor, in token whereof they gave for their seal two men riding on one horse³. And hence it was, that if the Turks took any of them prisoners, their constant ransom was sword and a belt⁴; it being conceived that their poor state could stretch to no higher price. But after their order was confirmed by Pope Honorius (by the entreaty of Stephen, the patriarch of Jerusalem), who appointed them to wear a white garment, to which Eugenius the Third added a red cross on their breast, they grew wonderfully rich by the bounty of several patrons; yea, the king and patriarch of Jerusalem⁵ dandled this infant order so long in their laps till it brake their knees, it grew so heavy at last; and these ungrateful Templars did pluck out the feathers of those wings which hatched and brooded them. From almsmen they turned lords; and though very valiant at first (for they were sworn rather to die than to fly), afterwards laziness withered their arms, and swelled their bellies. They laughed at the rules of their first institution, as at the swaddling clothes of their infancy; neglecting the patriarch, and counting themselves too old to be whipped with the rod of his discipline; till partly their viciousness and partly their wealth caused their final extirpation, as (God willing) shall be showed hereafter⁶.

At the same time began the Teutonic order, consisting only of Dutchmen well descended, living at Jerusalem in a house which one of that nation bequeathed to his countrymen that came thither on pilgrimage. In the year 1190 their order was honoured with a great master, whereof the first was Henry a-Walpot; and they had a habit assigned them to wear, black crosses on white robes: they were to fight in the defence of Christianity against Pagans. But we shall meet with them more largely in the following story.

³ Weaver, *Fun. Mon.* p. 71.

⁴ Hospin. *De Orig. Mon.*

⁵ Tyrius, lib. 12, cap. 7.

⁶ Lib. 5, cap. 1—3.

CHAP. XVII.—*The Christians' Variety of Success. Tyre taken by the Assistance of the Venetians.*

IT is worth the reader's marking how this king's reign was chequered with variety of fortune; for first, Roger, prince of Antioch¹ (or rather guardian in the minority of young Boemund), went forth with greater courage than discretion; whereunto his success was answerable, being conquered and killed by the Turks. But Baldwin, on the 14th of August following, forced the Turks to a restitution of their victory, and with a small army gave them a great overthrow, in spite of Gazi, their boasting general.

To qualify the Christians' joy for this good success, Joceline, unadvisedly fighting with Balak, a petty king of the Turks, was conquered and taken prisoner [1122]; and King Baldwin, coming to deliver him, was also taken himself, for which he might thank his own rashness; for it had been his best work to have done nothing for a while, till the Venetian succours, which were not far off, had come to him, and not presently to adventure all to the hazard of a battle.

Yet the Christians' hands were not bound in the king's captivity; for Eustace Grenier, chosen viceroy whilst the king was in durance, stoutly defended the country, and Count Joceline, who had escaped out of prison, fighting again with Balak at Hircapolis, routed his army, and killed him with his own hands. But the main piece of service was the taking of Tyre, which was done under the conduct of Guarimund, the patriarch of Jerusalem; but chiefly by the help of the Venetian navy, which Michael their duke brought, who for their pains were to have a third part of the city to themselves. Tyre had in it store of men and munition; but famine increasing (against whose arrows there is no armour of proof), it was yielded on honourable terms. And though perhaps hunger shortly would have made the Turks digest coarser conditions, yet the Christians were loath to anger their enemies' valour into desperateness.

Next year the king returned home [June 29], having been eighteen months a prisoner, being to pay for his ransom a hundred thousand Michaellets, and for security he left his daughter in pawn. But he paid the Turks with their own money, or (which was as good coin) with the money of the Saracens, vanquishing Barsequen their captain at An-

¹ Tyrius, lib. 12, cap. 10.

ioch [1125]: and not long after he conquered Doldequin, another great commander of them at Damascus [1126].

To correct the rankness of the Christians' pride for this good success, Damascus was afterwards by them unfortunately besieged [1130]. Heaven discharged against them thunder ordinance, arrows of lightning, small-shot of hail, whereby they being miserably wasted were forced to depart. And this affliction was increased when Boemund, the young prince of Antioch, one of great hope and much lamented, was defeated and slain [1131]. Authors impute these mishaps to the Christians' pride, and relying on their own strength, which never is more untrusty than when most trusted. True it was, God often gave them great victories, when they defended themselves in great straits: hereupon they turned their thankfulness into presumption, grew at last from defending themselves to dare their enemies on disadvantages to their often overthrow: for God will not unmake his miracles by making them common. And may not this also be counted some cause of their ill success, that they always imputed their victories to the material cross which was carried before them; so that Christ's glory, after his ascension, suffered again on the cross by their superstition.

CHAP. XVIII.—*The Death of Baldwin the Second.*

KING Baldwin, a little before his death, renounced the world, and took on him a religious habit. This was the fashion of many princes in that age, though they did it for divers ends. Some thought to make amends for their disordered lives by entering into some holy order at their deaths; others, having surfeited of the world's vanity, fasted from it when they could eat no more, because of the impotency of their bodies; others, being crossed by the world by some misfortune, sought to cross the world again in renouncing of it. These, like furious gamesters, threw up their cards, not out of dislike of gaming but of their game; and they were rather discontented to live than contented to die. But we must believe that Baldwin did it out of true devotion, to ripen himself for heaven, because he was piously affected from his youth, so that all his life was religiously tuned, though it made the sweetest music in the close. He died not long after, on the 22d of August, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and was buried with his predecessors in the Temple of the Sepulchre. By Morphe, a Grecian lady, his wife, he had four daughters, whereof Millesent was the eldest; the second Alice, married to young Boemund,



prince of Antioch; the third Hodiern, wife to Reimund prince of Tripoli; and Mete the youngest, abbess of Bethany.

CHAP. XIX.—*Of Fulco, the fourth King of Jerusalem.*

FULCO, earl of Tours, Mam, and Anjou, coming some three years before on pilgrimage to Jerusalem [1132] there took in marriage Millesent, the king's daughter. He had assigned to him the city of Tyre, and some other princely accommodations for his present maintenance, and the kingdom after the death of his father-in-law, which he received accordingly. He was well nigh sixty years old and by his first wife he had a son, Geoffrey Plantagenet earl of Anjou, to whom he left his lands in France, and from whom our kings of England are descended. This Fulco was a very valiant man, able both of body and mind. His greatest defect was a weak memory (though not so bad as that of Messala Corvinus¹, who forgot his own name); insomuch that he knew not his own servants, and those whom he even now preferred were presently after strangers unto him. Yet though he had a bad memory whilst he lived, he hath a good one now he is dead, and his virtues are famous to posterity.

CHAP. XX.—*The Church Story during this King's Reign. The remarkable Ruin of Rodolphus, Patriarch of Antioch.*

THE church of Jerusalem yielded no alterations in the reign of Fulco. But in Antioch there was much stir who should succeed Bernard, that peaceable long-lived man, who sat thirty-six years, and survived eight patriarchs of Jerusalem. Now, whilst the clergy were tedious in their choice, the laity was too nimble for them, and they (thinking it equal to have a hand in making, who must have their arms in defending a patriarch) clapped one Rodolphus, of noble parentage, into the chair² [1136]. He presently took his pall off from the altar of St. Peter, thereby sparing both his purse and pains to go to Rome, and acknowledging no other superior than that apostle for his patron. This man was the darling of the gentry (and no wonder if they loved him who was of their cloth and making), but hated of the clergy. Wherefore knowing himself to need strong arms who was to swim against the stream, he wrought himself

¹ Plin. lib. 7, cap. 24.

² Tyrius, lib. 15.

into the favour of the princess of Antioch, the widow of young Boemund, so that he commanded all her command, and beat down his enemies with her strength. He promised to make a marriage betwixt her and Reimund, earl of Poictou (a Frenchman of great fame, who was coming into these parts), but he deceived her, and caused the earl to marry Constantia, the daughter of this lady, by whom he had the principality of Antioch. Indeed this Constantia was but a child for age; but they never want years to marry who have a kingdom for their portion.

The patriarch, to make sure work, bound Prince Reimund by an oath to be true to him; but friends unjustly gotten are seldom comfortably enjoyed. Of his sworn friend he proved his sworn enemy, and forced him to go up to Rome, there to answer many accusations laid to his charge, wherein the groundwork perchance was true, though malice might set the varnish on it. The main matter was, that he made odious comparisons betwixt Antioch and Rome, and counted himself equal to his holiness.

Rodolphus, coming to Rome, found the pope's doors shut against him, but he opened them with a golden key. Money he sowed plentifully, and reaped it when he came to be tried; for he found their hands very soft towards him whom formerly he had greased in the fist. He also resigned his old pall, and took a new one from the pope. As for his other crimes, it was concluded that Albericus, bishop of Ostia, should be sent into Syria the pope's legate, to examine matters, and to proceed accordingly with the patriarch, as things there should be found alleged and proved; whereat his adversaries much stormed, who expected that he should instantly have been deposed.

Yet afterwards they prevailed mightily with Albericus, the legate, and bowed him on their side. He, coming to Antioch, cited the patriarch to appear, who, being thrice called, came not. On his absence all were present with their conjectures what should cause it; some imputing it to his guiltiness, others to his contempt, others to his fear of his enemy's potency, or judge's partiality, for indeed the legate came not with a virgin judgment, but ravished with prejudice, being prepossessed with this intent to dispossess him of his place. Some thought he relied on his peace formerly made at Rome, where the illegality of his election was rectified by his laying down his first pall, and assuming a new one from the pope.

Here was it worth the beholding in what several streams

men's affections ran³. All wished that the tree might be felled, who had hopes to gather chips by his fall, and especially one Arnulphus, and Dean Lambert, the promoters against the patriarch. Others pitied him, and, though perchance content that his roof might be taken down, were loath he should be razed to the ground. Some reserved their affections till they were counselled by the event which side to favour, and would not be engaged by any manifest declaration, but so that they might fairly retreat if need required. Amongst other prelates which were present, Serlo, archbishop of Apamea, was one, who formerly had been a great enemy to the patriarch, but had lately taken himself off from that course. The legate demanded of him why he proceeded not to accuse the patriarch as he was wont; to whom he answered⁴, "What formerly I did was done out of unadvised heat against the health of my soul, discovering the nakedness of my father, like to cursed Ham; and now God hath recalled me from mine error: so that I will neither accuse, nor presumptuously judge him, but am ready to die for his safety." Hereupon the legate immediately (such was the martial law in a churchman) deposed him from his archbishopric. Little hope then had the patriarch, who saw himself condemned in his friend: and he himself followed not long after⁵, being thrust out by violence, cast into prison, and there long kept in chains, till at last he made an escape to Rome, intending there to traverse his cause again, had not death (occasioned by poison, as is thought) prevented him [1141].

CHAP. XXI.—*Calo-Johannes, the Grecian Emperor, demandeth Antioch. Reimund, the Prince thereof, doeth Homage to him for it.*

CALO-JOHANNES, the Grecian emperor, came up with a vast army of horse and foot¹ [1136], and demanded of Reimund, prince of Antioch, to resign unto him that whole signory, according to the composition which the Christian princes made with Alexius, his father².

Hereat Reimund and all the Latins stormed out of measure: had they purchased the inheritance of the land with their own blood, now to turn tenants at will to another?

³ Baronius, in anno 1136.

⁴ Tyrius, lib. 15, cap. 16.

⁵ Tyrius, lib. 15, cap. 17.

¹ Idem, lib. 14, cap. 14.

² Vide supra, book 1, chap. 15.

Some pleaded that the ill usage of Alexius³ extorted from Godfrey and the rest of the pilgrims that agreement, and an oath made by force is of no force, but may freely be broken, because not freely made. Others alleged that when Antioch was first won, it was offered to Alexius, and he refused it⁴; so fair a tender was a payment. Others argued that that generation which made this contract was wholly dead, and that the debt descended not on them to make it good. But most insisted on this, that Alexius kept not his covenants, and assisted them not according to the agreement. Indeed he called these princes his sons, but he disinherited them of their hopes, and all their portion was in promises never paid. No reason then that the knot of the agreement should hold them fast, and let him loose.

The worst of these answers had been good enough, if their words had been as strong as the Grecian emperor's. But he coming with a numerous army, in few days overcame all Cilicia (which for forty years had belonged to the prince of Antioch), and then besieged the city of Antioch itself. Force is the body, and resolution the soul of an action: both these were well tempered together in the emperor's army, and the city brought to great distress; whereupon Fulco, king of Jerusalem, with some other princes, fearing what woful conclusion would follow so violent premises, made a composition between them; so that Reimund did homage to the emperor, and held his principality as a vassal from him. And though four years after the emperor came again into these parts [1140], yet he did not much harm; pillaging was all his conquest. Some years after he died, being accidentally poisoned by one of his own arrows, which he intended for the wild boar. A prince so much better to the Latins than his father Alexius, as an honourable foe is above a treacherous friend. His empire he disposed to Emmanuel, his son.

CHAP. XXII.—*The Succession of the Turkish Kings and the Saracen Caliphs. Of the unlimited Power of a Souldan. Some Resemblance thereof anciently in the Kingdom of France.*

NO great service of moment was performed in the reign of King Fulco, because he was molested with domestical discords, and intestine wars against Paulinus count of

³ Ursperg. p. 233, tortis sacramentis.

⁴ Vide supra, book 1, chap. 15.

Tripoli, and Hugh earl of Joppa; only Beersheba was fortified, and some forts built about Askelon, as an introduction to besiege it. Also skirmishes were now and then fought with variety of success against Sanguin, one of the Turks' great princes.

And here let the reader take notice, that though we have mentioned many commanders, as Auxianus, Corboran, Ammiravissus, Tenduc, Gazi, Balak, Dordequin, Borscquin, Sanguin, some Turkish, some Saracen, yet none of these were absolute kings (though perchance in courtesy sometimes so styled by writers), but were only generals and lieutenants accountable to their superiors, the caliphs either of Babylon or Egypt. Who what they were, we refer the reader to our chronology.

Caliph was the pope (as I may say) of the Saracens, a mixture of priest and prince. But we need not now trouble ourselves with curiosity in their successions, these caliphs being but obscure men, who confined themselves to pleasures, making play their work, and having their constant diet on the sauce of recreation. We are rather to take notice of their generals and captains, which were the men of action. For a souldan (which was but a viceroy), with his borrowed light, shineth brighter in history than the caliph himself, yet may we justly wonder that these slothful caliphs should do nothing themselves, and commit such unlimited power to their souldans, especially seeing too much trust is a strong temptation to make ambitious flesh and blood disloyal. Yet something may be said for the caliph of Egypt, besides that the pleasures of that country were sufficient to invite him to a voluptuous life¹. First, the awful regard which the Egyptians had of their princes gave them security to trust their officers with ample commission. Secondly, herein they followed an ancient custom practised by the Pharaohs anciently, who gave unto Joseph so large authority, as we may read in Genesis². Some example also we have hereof in France about nine hundred years ago. Childeric, Theodoric, Clovis, Childebert, Dagobert, &c. a chain of idle kings well linked together, gave themselves over to pleasures privately, never coming abroad; but only on May-day they showed themselves to the people, riding in a chariot, adorned with flowers, and drawn with oxen (slow cattle, but good enough for so lazy luggage) whilst

¹ Sir Walter Raleigh, part 1, book 2, chap. 26.

² Gen. xli. 40.

Charles Martell and Pipin, mayors of the palace, opened
 courts, gave audience to ambassadors, made war or peace,
 enacted and repealed laws at pleasure, till afterwards, from
 controllers of the king's household, they became controllers
 of the kings, and at last kings themselves.

To return to Egypt. Let none be troubled (pardon a
 charitable digression to satisfy some scrupulous in a point
 of chronology) if they find anciently more kings of the
 Egyptians, and longer reigning than the consent of times
 will allow room for: for no doubt that which hath swelled
 the number, is the counting deputies for kings. Yea, we
 and the Holy Spirit, in the same breath, speak a viceroy to
 be a king and no king; *There was no king in Edom; a
 deputy was king*³.

CHAP. XXIII.—*The lamentable Death of King Fulco.*

WHEN Fulco had now eleven years with much in-
 dustry and care (though with little enlarging of his
 dominions) governed the land, he was slain in earnest as
 following his sport in hunting, to the great grief of his sub-
 jects¹ [1142]. And we may hear him thus speaking his
 epitaph:

A hare I hunted, and death hunted me;
 The more my speed was, was the worse my speed:
 For as well-mounted I away did flee,
 Death caught and kill'd me, falling from my steed.
 Yet this mishap a happy miss I count,
 That fell from horse that I to heaven might mount.

A prince of a sweet nature; and though one would have
 read him to be very furious by his high-coloured countenance,
 yet his face was a good hypocrite; and (*contra leges istius
 coloris*, saith Tyrius²) he was affable, courteous, and pitiful
 to all in distress. He was buried with his predecessors in
 the Temple of the Sepulchre, leaving two sons, Baldwin who
 was thirteen, and Almerick seven years old.

CHAP. XXIV.—*The Disposition of Baldwin the Third. The
 Care of Queen Millesent in her Son's Minority.*

BALDWIN succeeded his father [1143], who quickly
 grew up, as to age, so in all royal accomplishments,
 and became a most complete prince; well learned, espe-

³ 1 Kings, xxii. 47. *Melek* in both.

¹ Tyrius, lib. 15. cap. ult.

² Lib. 14. cap. 1.

cially in history; liberal; very witty and very pleasant in discourse; he would often give a smart jest, which would make the place both blush and bleed where it lighted: yet this was the better taken at his hands, because he cherished not a cowardly wit in himself, to wound men behind their backs, but played on them freely to their faces; yea, and never refused the coin he paid them in, but would be contented (though a king) to be the subject of a good jest: and sometimes he was well-favouredly met with¹; as the best fencer in wit's school hath now and then an unhappy blow dealt him. Some thought he descended beneath himself in too much familiarity to his subjects: for he would commonly call and salute mean persons by their names: but the vulgar sort, in whose judgments the lowest stars are ever the greatest, conceived him to surpass all his predecessors, because he was so fellow-like with them.

But whilst yet he was in minority, his mother Millesent made up his want of age with her abundant care, being governor of all: a woman in sex, but of a masculine spirit. She continued a widow: and as for children's sake she married once, so for her children's sake she married no more. St. Bernard and she spake often together by letters²: he extolled her single life, how it was more honour to live a widow, than to be a queen: this she had by birth, that by God's bounty; this she was happily begotten, that she had manfully gotten of herself³. Yet we find not that she made a vow never to marry again; wherein she did the wiser: for the chastest minds cannot conclude, from the present calm, that there will never after arise any lustful storm in their souls. Besides, a resolution is a free custody; but a vow is a kind of prison, which restrained nature hath the more desire to break.

CHAP. XXV.—*Of Fulcher Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Insolence of the Hospitallers against him.*

WILLIAM, who was last possessed of the patriarch's chair in Jerusalem, was none of the greatest clerks. But whatsoever he was for edifying of the church, he was excellent at building of castles (one at Askelon, another at Ramula, a third called Blank-guard for the securing of pilgrims), till at last, having sat in his place fifteen years, he

¹ Tyrius, lib. 16, cap. 2.

² Epist. 206, col. 1569.

³ Illud tibi ex genere, istud ex munere Dei; illud feliciter nata es, hoc viriliter nacta. Epist. 289: col. 1622.

was translated to heaven [1145], and on earth Fulcher archbishop of Tyre succeeded him. An honest old man, whose weak age was much molested with the pride and rebellion of the Hospitallers, who lately had procured from the pope a plenary exemption from the patriarch. This his holiness did the more willingly grant, because hereby he made himself absolute master of all orders, pinning them on himself by an immediate dependence, and so bringing water to his mill by straighter and nearer stream. But hereby the entireness of episcopal jurisdiction was much maimed and mangled, and every convent was a castle of rebels, armed with privileges to fight against their lawful diocesan.

Now as these Hospitallers wronged the power of the bishops, so did they rob the profit of poor priests, refusing to pay any tithes of their manors, which contained many parishes (so that the pastors who fed the flocks were starved themselves; and having laboured all day in the vineyard, were at night sent supperless to bed), the Hospitallers pleading that the pope had freed them from these duties; as if an acquittance under the hand of his holiness was sufficient to discharge them from paying of tithes, a debt due to God. Other foul crimes they also were guilty of: as, outbraving the Temple of the Sepulchre with their stately buildings; giving the sacraments to and receiving of excommunicated persons; ringing their bells when their patriarch preached, that his voice might not be heard; shooting arrows into the church to disturb him and the people in divine service¹; a bundle whereof were hung up as a monument of their impiety [1156].

Fulcher the patriarch crawled to Rome, being a hundred years old, to complain of these misdemeanours; carrying with him the archbishop of Tyre and five other bishops. But he had sped better, if instead of every one of them he had carried a bag of gold. For the Hospitallers prevented him, and had formerly been effectually present with their large bribes, so that the patriarch's suit was very cold; and no wonder, seeing he did afford no fuel to heat it. The cardinals' eyes in the court of Rome were old and dim; and therefore the glass wherein they see any thing must be well silvered. Indeed two of them, Octavian, and John of St. Martin, favoured Christ's cause and his ministers, but all the rest followed gifts, and the way of Balaam the son of

¹ Tyrius, lib. 18. cap. 3.

Bosor³. But here Baronius⁴, who hitherto had leaned on Tyrius's authority, now starteth from it: and no wonder, for his pen will seldom cast ink, when he meeteth with the corruption of the Romish court. But sure it was, that the good patriarch, wearied with delays, returned back with his grievances unredressed. Whereupon the Hospitallers grew more insolent; and, under pretence of being freed from fetters, would wear no girdle; denying not only subjection, but any filial obedience to a superior.

CHAP. XXVI.—*Of Almericus Patriarch of Antioch, his instituting of Carmelites. Their differing from the Pattern of Elias.*

AFTER the tragical life and death of Rodolphus patriarch of Antioch [1142], who was twelve years patriarch, counting his banishment, Haymericus by the contrary faction and power of Prince Reimund succeeded him, with little quiet and comfort of his place.

And here, to our grief, must we take our final farewell of the distinct succession of the patriarchs of Antioch, with the years that they sat; such is the obscurity and confusion of it. Yet no doubt this Haymericus was the same with Almericus¹, who about the year 1160 first instituted the order of Carmelites. Indeed formerly they lived dispersed about the mountain of Carmel: but he gathered them together into one house; because solitariness is a trespass against the nature of man, and God, when he had made all things good, saw it was not good for man to be alone.

Surely from great antiquity in the primitive church, many retired themselves to solitary places (where they were always alone, and always in the company of good thoughts) chiefly to shade themselves from the heat of persecution². Whose example was in after ages imitated by others, when there was no such necessity: as here by these Carmelites, whose order was afterwards perfected in the year 1216, by Albert patriarch of Jerusalem, with certain canonical observations imposed upon them. And in the next age, these bees, which first bred in the ground and hollow trees, got them hives in gardens; and, leaving the deserts, gained them princely

³ Alii omnes abeuntes post munera, secuti sunt vias Balaam filii Bosor. Tyrius, lib. 18, cap. 8.

⁴ Annal. Eccles. in anno 1155.

¹ Compare Baronius with himself in these years, 1143, 1154, 1181, and we shall find Haymericus and Almericus the same.

² Polid. Virg. lib. 7, cap. 3. Sabel. Enn. 9, lib. 5. Hospin. De Orig. Mon.

houses in pleasant places. They pretended indeed that they followed the pattern of Elias, though far enough from his example. First, for their habit, they wore white coats guarded with red streaks³: but they have no colour in the Bible that Elias ever wore such a livery; it suits rather with Joseph than with him. Secondly, by their order they were to ride on he-asses; whereas we read that Elias went on foot, and rode but once in a chariot of fire. Thirdly, they by the constitution of Pope Nicholas V. had sisters of their company living near unto them⁴; we find Elias to have no such feminine consorts. Fourthly, they lived in all lust and laziness, as Nicolas Gallus their own general did complain⁵ that they were Sodomites, and compareth them to the tail of the dragon: so that their luxury differed from Elias's austerity, as much as velvet from sackcloth. Wherefore that the Carmelites came from mount Carmel cannot be denied: but on that mountain I find that both Elias and Baal's priests gathered together; and let the indifferent reader judge which of them their lives do most resemble.

Afterwards Pope Honorius III. counting the party-coloured coats these Carmelites did wear to be too gaudy, caused them to wear only white, the colour which nature doth dye; simple, and therefore fittest for religion. But Melexala king of Egypt, who formerly was very bountiful to the Carmelites, knew not his almsmen in their new coats, but changed his love, as they their livery, and persecuted them out of all Egypt. It seemeth afterwards, by the complaint of Mantuan, that they wore some black again over their white: for he playeth on them, as if their bad manners had blacked and altered their clothes⁶.

Now, though Palestine was their mother, England was their best nurse. Ralph Fresburg, about the year 1240, first brought them hither; and they were first seated at Newenden in Kent⁷. A hundred and forty English writers have been of this order⁸. And here they flourished in great pomp, till at last King Henry VIII., as they came out of the wilderness, so turned their houses into a wilderness; not only breaking the necks of all abbeys in England, but also scattering abroad their very bones, past possibility of recounting them.

³ Antonius, tit. 20. cap. 5. ⁴ Balæus in Vita Nicol. V.

⁵ Vide Balæum, centur. 4, cap. 42, in append. 2.

⁶ Eclog. 2. Immutarunt mutati vellera mores.

⁷ Yet Camden saith they were first seated in Northumberland.

⁸ Pitsæus, in indice Carm.

CHAP. XXVII.—*Edessa lost. The hopeful Voyage of Conrad the Emperor and Louis King of France, to the Holy Land, blasted by the Perfidiousness of Emmanuel the Grecian Emperor.*

EMPIRES have their set bounds, whither when they come, they stand still, go back, fall down; this we may see in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which under Godfrey and the two first Baldwins was a gainer, under Fulco a saver, under the succeeding kings a constant loser, till all was gone. For now Sanguin, prince of the Turks (as bloody as his name), wrested from the Christians the country and city of Edessa, one of the four tetrarchies of the kingdom of Jerusalem. And though Sanguin shortly after was stabbed at a feast, yet Noradin his son succeeded, and exceeded him in cruelty against the Christians.

The loss of Edessa [1147] (wherein our religion had flourished ever since the apostles' time¹) moved Conrad, emperor of the West, and Louis VII. surnamed the Young, king of France, to undertake a voyage to the Holy Land. Pope Eugenius III. bestirred himself in the matter, and made St. Bernard his solicitor to advance the design. For never could so much steel have been drawn into the east, had not this good man's persuasion been the loadstone: the emperor's army contained two hundred thousand foot, besides fifty thousand horse; nor was the army of King Louis much inferior in number. In France they sent a distaff and a spindle to all those able men that went not with them, as upbraiding their effeminateness²; and no wonder, when women themselves went in armour (having a brave lass, like another Penthesilea, for their leader, so befringed with gold that they called her Golden-foot³), riding astride like men; which I should count more strange, but that I find all women in England in the same posture on their horses, till Anna⁴, wife to King Richard II., some two hundred years since, taught them a more modest behaviour. The Turks did quake, hearing of these preparations, which to them were reported far greater than they were, fame (contrary to all other painters) making those the greatest which are presented the farthest off.

¹ Christiano nomini à temporibus Apostolorum devota. Tyrius, lib. 16, cap. 5. ² P. Æmil. in Ludov. VII.

³ Nicetas, in Emm. Comn. χρυσόπες.

⁴ Camd. Britan. in Surrey.

Conrad, with his army, took his way through Grecia; where Emmanuel, the emperor, possessed with an hereditary fear of the Latins, fortified his cities in the way, as knowing there needed strong banks where such a stream of people was to pass. And suspecting that if these pilgrims often made his empire their highway into Palestine, little grass would grow in so trodden a path, and his country thereby be much endamaged, he used them most treacherously, giving them bad welcome, that he might no more have such guests. To increase their miseries, as the Dutch encamped by the river Melas⁵ (if that may be called a river which is all mud in summer, all sea in winter), deserving his name from this black and dismal accident, it drowned many with its sudden overflowings, as if it had conspired with the Grecians, and learned treachery from them.

They that survived this sudden mishap were reserved for lingering misery. For the Grecian emperor did them all possible mischief, by mingling lime with their meal, by killing of stragglers, by holding intelligence with the Turks their enemies, by corrupting his coin, making his silver as base as himself (so that the Dutch sold good wares for bad money, and bought bad wares with good money), by giving them false conductors, which trained them into danger, so that there was more fear of the guides than of the way. All which his unfaithful dealings are recorded by that faithful historian Nicetas Choniates⁶; who, though a Grecian born, affirmeth these things; the truth of his love to his countrymen no whit prejudicing his love to the truth.

CHAP. XXVIII.—*The Turks conquered at Meander. The Dutch and French arrive in Palestine.*

SCARCE had the Dutch escaped the treachery of the Greeks, when they were encountered with the hostility of the Turks, who waited for them on the other side of Meander. The river was not fordable; ship or bridge the Christians had none: when, behold, Conrad the emperor adventured on an action, which, because it was successful, shall be accounted valiant, otherwise we should term it desperate. After an exhortation to his army, he commanded them all at once to flounce into the river¹. Meander was plunged by their plunging into it: his water stood amazed, as unresolved whether to retreat to the fountain or

⁵ Nicetas, ut priùs.

⁶ In Vita Manuel. Comn. lib. 1, § 5.

¹ Knolles, Turk. Hist. p. 33.

proceed to the sea, and in this ecstasy afforded them a dry passage over the stream²; an act, which like that of Horatius Cocles's leaping into Tiber³, *plus famæ ad posteros habiturum quàm fidei*, will find more admirers than believers with posterity. The affrighted Turks, on the other side, thinking there was no contending with them that did teach nature itself obedience, offered their throats to the Christians' swords, and were killed in such number, that whole piles of dead bodies remain there for a monument; like those heaps of the Cimbrians slain by Marius, near Marseilles, where afterwards the inhabitants walled their vineyards with skulls, and guarded their grapes with dead men⁴. Hence Conrad made forward to Iconium, now called Cogni, which he besieged in vain, to the great loss of his army.

The king of France followed after with great multitudes, and drank of the same cup at the Grecians' hands, though not so deeply; till at last, finding that those who marched through the continent met with an ocean of misery, he thought better to trust the wind and sea than the Greeks; and, taking shipping, safely arrived in Palestine, where he was highly welcomed by Reimund, prince of Antioch. Some weeks were spent in complying, entertainments, and visiting holy places; till at last, Eleanor, wife to the king of France, who accompanied her husband, made religion her pander, and played bankrupt of her honour⁵; under pretence of pilgrimage, keeping company with a base Saracen jester, whom she preferred before a king. Thus love may blindfold the eyes, but lust boreth them out. Yea, now she pleaded that she might be no longer wife to the king, because she was too near unto him, within the degrees forbidden. This new started scruple never troubled her before; but some have sluices in their consciences, and can keep them open, or shut them as occasion required.

CHAP. XXIX.—*Damascus besieged in vain. The Return of the Emperor and King; with the Censure on this Voyage.*

THE late come pilgrims having sufficiently recreated themselves, the emperor and the king of France concluded to besiege Damascus: for a small town was con-

² Nicetas, in Man. Comn. lib. 1, § 6.

³ Liv. lib. 2.

⁴ Munst. Cosmog. lib. 2, p. 227.

⁵ Serres, translated by Grimston, in Vita Ludov. VII. and P. Æmilii, in ejusdem Vita.

ceived too narrow an object of their valour, whilst so eminent an action was adequate to the undertakers. Damascus is so pleasant a city, that Mahomet durst never enter it, lest this deceiver should be deceived himself, and be so ravished with the pleasures of the place, that he should forget to go on in that great work he had in hand. Some make Eliezer, Abraham's steward, builder of this city, because he is called Eliezer of Damascus; though that phrase speaketh him rather to have had his birth or dwelling there, than the city her building from him. To pass this by, because as the foundations are hidden in the ground, so the founders of most ancient places are forgotten. It was for many years after the metropolis of Syria, and was now straitly besieged by the Christians with great hope of success [1148], had they not afterwards fallen out amongst themselves who should eat the chickens before they were hatched. Conrad and King Louis destined the city to Theodoric, earl of Flanders, lately arrived in those parts; whilst other princes which had been long resident in Palestine, and borne the heat of the war, grudged hereat; and their stomachs could not digest the crudity of a raw upstart to be preferred before them. Yea, some of the Christians, corrupted with Turkish money (though when they received it, it proved but gilded brass¹; may all traitors be paid in such coin!), persuaded the king of France to remove his camp to a stronger part of the walls; which they long besieged in vain, and returned home at last, leaving the city and their honours behind them.

The French proverb was verified of this voyage, "Much bruit and little fruit." They not only did no good in the Holy Land (save that some think their coming advantaged King Baldwin for the taking of the city of Askelon²), but also did much harm. For now the Turks, seeing one city both bear the brunt and batter the strength of both armies, began to conceive that their own fear was their greatest enemy; and those swords of these new pilgrims which they dreaded in the sheath, they slighted when they saw them drawn, and shook off that awe which had formerly possessed them, of the strength of the western emperor. Many thousand Christians perished in this adventure, whose souls are pronounced by all the writers of this age to be carried up into heaven on the wings of the holy cause they died for;

¹ Theodor. à Niein De Privilegiis Imperii, cap. de Conrado 4.

² Sabellicus.

whose blessed estate I will not disprove; nor will I listen to the unhappy Dutch proverb, "He that bringeth himself into needless dangers, dieth the devil's martyr³."

We must not forget how the French king, coming homeward, was taken prisoner by the fleet of the Grecian emperor, and rescued again by Gregory, admiral to Roger king of Sicily. When he was safely arrived in France, in open parliament his wife was divorced from him. Her nearness in blood was the only cause specified; and the king took no notice of her inconstancy, accounting those but foolish husbands who needlessly proclaim their wives' dishonesty. He gave her back again all the lands in France which he had received with her in portion, scorning her wealth which neglected his love. Herein he did nobly, but not politicly, to part with the dukedoms of Poictou and Aquitain, which he enjoyed in her right; for he brake his own garland by giving her her flowers back again; mangled and dismembered his own kingdom, and gave a torch into Henry king of England's hands (who afterwards married her) to set France on fire⁴.

CHAP. XXX.—*An Apology for St. Bernard, whom the vulgar Sort condemned for the Murderer of those that went this Voyage.*

SLANDER (quicker than martial law) arraigneth, condemneth, and executeth all in an instant. This we may see in poor St. Bernard, who was the mark for every man's tongue to shoot arrows against: and when this voyage had miscarried, many condemned him¹, because his persuasion set this project not only on foot but on wings; as if he had thrust so many men, as one morsel, into the jaws of death.

But much may be alleged truly to excuse this good man.

First, he was but an instrument employed by Pope Eugenius and a provincial council of French bishops to forward the design². Rather then should they have blamed his holiness who set him on work: but the saddle oftentimes is not set on the right horse, because his back is too high to be reached, and we see commonly that the instruments are made screens to save the face of the principal from scorching.

³ Cited by Luther, on Gen. iii.

⁴ Serres, in Ludov. VII.

¹ Goffridus, in Vita Bern. lib. 3, cap. 4.

² Baron. Annal. Eccl. in anno 1140. Insistens operi sibi commissio ab Eugenio.

Secondly, the true cause of the ill success was the viciousness of the undertakers. For Germany at this time surfeited of lewd people, and those grew the fattest which lived on the highways. But this voyage robbed the whole country of her thieves³, and then no wonder if they found their death in Asia, who deserved it in Europe. Hear what Otho Frisingensis, who went this voyage, speaketh impartially in the matter⁴:—"If we should say that Bernard, that holy abbot, was inspired by God's Spirit to incite us to this war, but we, through our pride and wantonness, not observing his holy commands, deservedly brought on ourselves the loss of our goods and lives, we should say nothing but what is agreeable to reason, and to ancient examples." However, it was a heavy affliction on St. Bernard's aged back to bear the reproach of many people: it being a great grief for one to be generally condemned as guilty, for want of proof of his innocency. And though God set his hand to St. Bernard's testimonial by the many miracles which that father wrought⁵, yet still some challenged him for a counterfeit.

And surely this humiliation was both wholesome and necessary for him. For the people, who cannot love without doting, nor approve without admiring, were too much transported with a high opinion of this man and his directions; as if that arrow could not miss the mark which came out of St. Bernard's bow. Wherefore this miscarriage came very seasonably to abate their overtowering conceits of him; and perchance his own of himself. And no doubt he made a good use of this bad accident. The less his fame blazed, the more his devotion burned; and the cutting off of his top made him take deep root, and to be made more truly humbled and sanctified. In his book of Consideration⁶ he maketh a modest defence of himself; whither we refer the reader. To conclude: the devotion of this man was out of question, so neglecting this world, that he even did spit out that preferment which was dropped into his mouth: but as for his judgment, it was not always the best; which gave occasion to the proverb, *Bernardus non videt omnia*.

³ Germania tunc latrociniiis frequens, purgabatur eo genere hominum. Krantz. 6 Sax. cap. 13.

⁴ In Vita Fred. lib. 1, cap. 6, in fine.

⁵ Goffrid. ut prius.

⁶ Lib. 2, cap. 1.

CHAP. XXXI.—*Unseasonable Discords betwixt King Baldwin and his Mother. Her Strength in yielding to her Son.*

UPON the departure of Emperor Conrad and King Louis, Noradin the Turk much prevailed in Palestine [1149]. Nor was he little advantaged by the discords betwixt Millesent, queen-mother, and the nobility; thus occasioned:—There was a nobleman called Manasses, whom the queen (governing all in her son's minority) made constable of the kingdom. This man, unable to manage his own happiness, grew so insolent that he could not go, but either spurning his equals, or trampling on his inferiors. No wonder then if envy, the shadow of greatness, waited upon him. The nobility highly distasted him¹; but in all oppositions the queen's favour was his sanctuary, who, to show her own absoluteness, and that her affection should not be controlled, nor that thrown down which she set up, still preserved the creature she had made.

His enemies, perceiving him so fast rooted in her favour, and seeing they could not remove him from his foundation, sought to remove him with his foundation; instigating young King Baldwin against his mother, and especially against her favourite. They complained how the state groaned under his insolency; he was the bridge by which all offices must pass, and there pay toll; he alone sifted all matters, and then no wonder if much bran passed; he, under pretence of opening the queen's eyes, did lead her by the nose, captivating her judgment instead of directing it; he, like a by-gulf, devoured her affection, which should flow to her children. They persuaded the king he was ripe for government, and needed none to hold his hand to hold the sceptre. Let him therefore either unite or cut himself loose from this slavery, and not be in subjection to a subject.

Liberty needeth no hard pressing on youth; a touch on that stamp maketh an impression on that waxen age. Young Baldwin is apprehensive of this motion, and prosecuteth the matter so eagerly, that, at length, he coopeth up this Manasses in a castle, and forceth him to abjure the kingdom. Much stir afterwards was betwixt him and his mother; till at last, to end divisions, the kingdom was divided betwixt them: she had the city of Jerusalem, and the land-locked part; he the maritime half of the land.

¹ Tyrius, lib. 17, cap. 13.

But the widest throne is too narrow for two to sit on together. He, not content with this partition, marcheth furiously to Jerusalem, there to besiege his mother, and to take all from her. Out of the city cometh Fulcher, the good patriarch² (his age was a patent for his boldness), and freely reproveth the king: why should he go on in such an action wherein, every step he stirred, his legs must need grate and crash both against nature and religion? Did he thus requite his mother's care in stewarding the state, thus to affright her age, to take arms against her? Was it not her goodness to be content with a moiety, when the whole kingdom in right belonged unto her?

But ambition had so enchanted Baldwin, that he was penetrable with no reasons which crossed his designs: so that by the advice of her friends she was content to resign up all, lest the Christian cause should suffer in these dissensions. She retired herself to Sebaste³, and abridged her train from state to necessity. And now the less room she had to build upon, the higher she raised her soul with heavenly meditations; and lived as more private, so more pious till the day of her death.

CHAP. XXXII.—*Reimund, Prince of Antioch, overcome and killed. Askelon taken by the Christians. The Death of King Baldwin.*

THESE discords betwixt mother and son were harmony in the ears of Noradin the Turk: who, coming with a great army, wasted all about Antioch; and Prince Reimund, going out to bid him battle, was slain himself, and his army overthrown: nor long after Joceline, count of Edessa, was intercepted by the Turks, and taken prisoner.

As for Constantia, the relict of Reimund prince of Antioch, she lived a good while a widow, refusing the affections which many princely suitors proffered unto her, till at last she descended beneath herself to marry a plain man, Reinold of Castile [1153]. Yet why should we say so, when as a Castilian gentleman (if that not a needless tautology), as he maketh the inventory of his own worth, prizeth himself any prince's fellow: and the proverb is, Each layman of Castile may make a king, each clergyman a pope. Yea, we had best take heed how we speak against this match; for Almericus, patriarch of Antioch, for inveighing against it, was by this Prince Reinold set in the

² Tyrius, lib. 17, cap. 14.

³ Idem, ibidem.

heat of the sun with his bare head besmeared with honey (a sweet bitter torment), that so bees might sting him to death. But King Baldwin mediated for him, and obtained his liberty, that he might come to Jerusalem, where he lived many years in good esteem. And God's judgments are said to have overtaken the prince of Antioch; for, beside the famine which followed in his country, he himself afterwards fighting unfortunately with the Turks, was taken prisoner.

But let us step over to Jerusalem, where we shall find King Baldwin making preparation for the siege of Askelon; which city, after it had long been blocked up, had at last an assaultable breach made in the walls thereof. The Templars (to whom the king promised the spoil if they took it) entered through this breach into the city; and conceiving they had enough to wield the work and master the place, set a guard at the breach, that no more of their fellow Christians should come in to be sharers with them in the booty. But their covetousness cost them their lives²; for the Turks, contemning their few number, put them every one to the sword. Yet at last the city was taken, though with much difficulty [Aug. 12, 1154].

Other considerable victories Baldwin got of the Turks, especially one at the river Jordan, where he vanquished Noradin: and twice he relieved Cæsarea-Philippi, which the Turks had straitly besieged. But death at last put a period to his earthly happiness [1163], being poisoned (as it was supposed) by a Jewish physician; for the rest of the potion killed a dog to whom it was given. This king's youth was stained with unnatural discords with his mother and other vices, which in his settled age he reformed. Let the witness of Noradin, his enemy, be believed, who honourably refused to invade the kingdom whilst the funeral solemnities of Baldwin were performing; and professed the Christians had a just cause of sorrow, having lost such a king, whose equal for justice and valour the world did not afford³. He died without issue, having reigned one and twenty years. So that sure it is the printer's mistake in Tyrius, where he hath four and twenty years assigned him more than the consent of time will allow.

¹ Tyrius, lib. 18, cap. 1.

² Idem, lib. 17, cap. 27.

³ Idem, lib. 19, cap. 34.

CHAP. XXXIII.—*King Almerick's Disposition.*

ALMERICK, brother to King Baldwin, earl of Joppa and Askelon, succeeded to the crown [Feb. 18, 1163]. At before his coronation he was enjoined by the pope's legate, and by the patriarch of Jerusalem, to dismiss Agnes, wife, daughter to Joceline the younger, count of Edessa, because she was his cousin in the fourth degree; with this reservation, that the two children he had by her, Baldwin and Sibyll, should be accounted legitimate, and capable of their father's possessions. A prince of excellent parts; of a most happy memory¹ (wherein also his brother Baldwin was eminent, though Fulco, their father, was wonderfully forgetful; so true is the maxim, *Purè personalia non propriantur*, Parents entail neither their personal defects nor imperfections on their posterity), solid judgment, quick apprehension; but of a bad utterance, which made him use words only as a shield when he was urged and pressed to speak, otherwise he preferred to be silent, and declined popularity more than his brother Baldwin affected it. Very thrifty he was; and though Tully saith², *Dici hominem frugi non vitium habet laudis in rege*, yet moderate frugality is both commendable and necessary in a king. But our Almerick went somewhat too far, and was a little poor in admiring of riches, laying great taxations on the holy places to their utter impoverishing: yet was he not mastered by his purse, it made it his vassal, and spared no money on a just occasion. He never received accusation against any of his officers, and never reckoned with them (count it as you please, carelessness or noble confidence), because he would not teach them to be dishonest by suspecting them. Nor is the last and least part of his praise, that William, archbishop of Tyre (so often mentioned), wrote the Holy War in his instance. Once he angered the good archbishop with his question, How the resurrection of the body may be proved by reason³? Hereat the good prelate was much displeased, as counting it a dangerous question, wherewith he removeth a foundation stone in divinity, though with intent to lay it in the place again. But the king presently protested, that he demanded it not out of any diffidence in himself about that article, but in case one should meet with a sturdy man, who (as too many nowadays) would not

¹ Tyrius, lib. 19, cap. 2.² In Orat. pro Deiotaro.³ Tyrius, lib. 19, cap. 3.

trust faith on her single bond, except he have reason joined for security with her. Hereupon the archbishop alleged many strong arguments to prove it, and both rested well satisfied.

CHAP. XXXIV.—*Ecclesiastical Business. A Sultan of Iconium, and the Master of the Assassins desired to be christened. The Commonwealth of the Assassins described.*

IN the church of Jerusalem we find Almerick still patriarch; a Frenchman born, but little fit for the place to which he was preferred by the favour of Sibyll, countess of Flanders, the king's sister. Meantime the church needed a salique law, to forbid distaffs to meddle with mitres; and neither to be nor to make patriarchs.

But the most remarkable church matter in this king's reign, was the clandestine christening of a sultan of Iconium. And more of his courtiers might have followed him¹, but that his ambassadors being at Rome, were offended there with the viciousness of Christians' lives; which made them to exclaim, "How can fresh and salt water flow from the same fountain²?" [1169] This hath made many Pagans step back, which had one foot in our church, when they have seen Christians believe so well and live so ill; breaking the commandments against the creed.

Not long after, the great master of the Assassins was really disposed to receive our religion; and to this end sent an ambassador to King Almerick, which ambassador was treacherously slain by one of the Templars [1173]. The king demanded this murderer of the master of the Templars, that justice might pass upon him³. But the master proudly answered, that he had already enjoined him penance, and had directed to send him to the pope, but stoutly refused to surrender him to the king. This cruel murder imbittered the Assassins more desperately against the Christians.

These Assassins were a precise sect of Mahometans, and had in them the very spirits of that poisonous superstition. They had some six cities, and were about forty thousand in number, living near Antaradus in Syria. Over these was a chief master (hell itself cannot subsist without a Beelzebub; so much order there is in the place of confu-

¹ Baron. in anno 1169.

² M. Paris in anno 1169.

³ Tyrius, lib. 20, cap. 32.

ion), whom they called The Old Man of the Mountains⁴. At his command they would refuse no pain or peril, but stab any prince whom he appointed out to death; scorning not to find hands for his tongue, to perform what he enjoined. At this day there are none of them extant except revived by the Jesuits, for sure Ignatius Loyola, the same father of blind obedience, fetched his platform hence), being all, as it seems, slain by the Tartarians⁵, anno 1257. But no tears need be shed at their funerals; yea, pity it is that any pity should be lavished upon them, whose whole government was an engine built against human society, worthy to be fired by all men; the body of their state being a very monstrosity, and a grievance of mankind.

CHAP. XXXV.—*Dargan and Sanar, two Egyptian Lords, contending about the Sultany, Sanar calleth in the Turks to help him. Of the Danger of mercenary Soldiers; yet how, well qualified, they may be serviceable.*

EGYPT was the stage whereon the most remarkable passages in the reign of King Almerick were acted. It will be necessary, therefore, to premise somewhat concerning the estate of that kingdom at this time. Whilst the Turks thus lorded it in Syria and the Lesser Asia, the Saracen caliph commanded in Egypt; under whom, two great lords, Dargan and Sanar, fell out about the sultany or viceroyship of that land. But Sanar, fearing he should be worsted by Dargan, sued to Noradin king of the Turks at Damascus for aid, who sent him an army of Turks, under the command of Syracon, an experienced captain, against Sultan Dargan [1165]. So Dargan and Sanar met and fought. The victory was Dargan's, but he enjoyed it not long, being shortly after slain by treachery, whereby Sanar recovered the sultan's place. Meantime how strange was the voluptuous lethargy of the caliph Elhadach, to pursue his private pleasures, whilst his viceroys thus fought under his nose, and employed foreign succours, yet he never regarded it; as if the tottering of his kingdom had rocked him fast asleep.

Nor was he moved with that which followed, and more nearly concerned him. For Syracon the Turkish captain, whom Sanar had gotten to come into Egypt, would not be entreated to go home again; but seized on the city of

⁴ M. Paris, anno 1147. P. Æmilius, in Ludov. Jun.

⁵ M. Paris (aut ejus Continuator), in anno 1257.

Belbis, fortified it, and there attended the arrival of more Turks from Damascus, for the conquest of Egypt. Which afterwards they performed, the land being never completely cleared of them, till at last they conquered the whole kingdom, partly under this Syracon, and wholly under Saladin his nephew.

And here my discourse (by the leave of the reader) must a little sally forth to treat of the danger of entertaining mercenary soldiers. They may perchance be called in with a whistle, but scarce cast out with a whip. If they be slugs, they endanger a state by their slothfulness; if spirited men, by their activity. Cæsar Borgia, Machiavel's idol, whose practice he maketh the pattern of policy, saith, that he had rather be conquered with his own men, than be conqueror with an army of others, because he counted that conquest to be none at all¹.

Yet good physic may be made of poison well corrected. They may sometimes be necessary evils, yea, good and serviceable to defend a land, if thus qualified:—First, if they have no command of castles, or place near about the prince's person, for then they have a compendious way to treason, if they intend it. Secondly, if they be not entertained in too great numbers, but in such refracted degrees, that the natives may still have the predominancy; for a surfeit of foreign supplies is a disease incurable. Thirdly, if the prince who employeth them hath their wives, children, and estates in his own hands; which will be both a caution and pawn for their fidelity, and will also interest their affections more cordially in the cause. Lastly, if they be of the same religion with them, and fight against the enemy of the religion of both; for then they are not purely hirelings, but parties in part, and the cause doth at least mediately concern them. I believe that it will scarcely be shown, that the protestants have turned tails and betrayed them when they came to assist.

We may observe, the Low Countries have best thrived by setting this trade of journeymen soldiers on work. Let them thank God and the good English; for if Francis duke of Anjou with his Frenchmen had well succeeded, no doubt he would have spread his bread with their butter. Next them the Venetians have sped best; for they have the trick, when they find it equally dangerous to cashier

¹ Mach. Prince, cap. 9. *Se malle vinci suis armis quam alienis victorem esse.*

their mercenary general or to entertain him any longer, fairly to kill him, as they served Carmignola². England hath best thrived without them; under God's protection we stand on our own legs. The last I find are a handful of Almaines used against Kett, in Norfolk in the days of King Edward VI.³. And let it be our prayers, that as for those hirelings which are to be last tried and least trusted, we never have want of their help, and never have too much of it.

CHAP. XXXVI.—*Sanar imploreth the Aid of King Almerick. A solemn Agreement made betwixt them, and ratified by the magnificent Caliph.*

SULTAN Sanar perceiving himself pressed and overlaid by these Turks [1166], who with Syracon their captain refused to return, and of assistance turned invaders, borrowed the help of Almerick king of Jerusalem to avoid them out of Egypt. Whilst Almerick marched thither, an unfortunate battle was fought [Aug. 10], betwixt Boemund the third of that name prince of Antioch, Reimund count of Tripoli, Calaman Grecian governor of Cilicia, and Joceline III. the titular count of Edessa, on the one side; and Noradin king of the Turks, on the other. The Turks got the victory, and these four Christian princes were taken prisoners; and their army lost so much good blood that day, that cast it into an irrecoverable consumption, and hastened the ruin of this kingdom. Noradin, following his blow, won Cæsarea-Philippi.

Nevertheless Almerick went on effectually in Egypt, and for a time expelled the Turks out of this land [Aug. 18]. But Syracon would not so quickly quit the country, but goeth to the caliph of Babylon (who was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heir to Mahomet, that false prophet, the sovereignty over all that were of the Saracen law) and offereth him his means for the extirpation of this schismatical caliph, and the reduction of all Egypt to the subjection of the Babylonian.

The motion was joyfully entertained, and Syracon with a mighty power descendeth into Egypt.

Sanar, affrighted hereat, maketh new and large proffers to King Almerick to stop this deluge of his enemies, and proffereth him a pension of forty thousand ducats yearly

² Mach. Prince, cap. 8.

³ Speed, Edward VI.

for his behooveful assistance. But the king, understanding that the sultan (how much soever he took upon him) was subject to a higher lord, would make no such bargain with him, but with the caliph himself; and therefore sent his ambassadors, Hugh earl of Cæsarea, and a knight-templar, along with the sultan to Caliph Elhadach, then resident at Cairo¹. Arriving at his palace, they passed through dark passages well guarded with armed Ethiopians. Hence they were conducted into goodly open courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retain the gravity of ambassadors, but were enforced to admire the rarities they beheld². The farther they went, the greater the state; till at last they were brought to the caliph's own lodging; where, entering the presence, the sultan thrice prostrated himself to the ground before the curtain behind which the caliph sat. Presently the traverse wrought with pearls was opened, and the caliph himself discovered, sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward eunuchs about him.

The sultan humbly kissed his master's feet, and briefly told him the cause of their coming, the danger wherein the land stood, the proffers he had made to King Almerick, desiring him now to ratify them, and in demonstration thereof, to give his hand to the king's ambassadors. The caliph demurred hereat, as counting such a gesture a diminution to his state; and at no hand would give him his hand bare, but gave it in his glove. To whom the resolute earl of Cæsarea³: "Sir," said he, "truth seeketh no holes to hide itself. Princes that will hold covenant, must deal openly and nakedly; give us therefore your bare hand; we will make no bargain with your glove." He was loath to do it, but necessity (a more imperious caliph than himself at this time) commanded it; and he did it at last, dismissing the Christian ambassadors with such gifts as testified his greatness.

According to this agreement King Almerick cordially prosecuted his business, improving his utmost might to expel Syracon with his Turks out of Egypt, whom he bade battle, and got the day, though he lost all his baggage; so that the conquest in a manner was divided; the Turks gaining the wealth, the Christians the honour of the victory. Following his blow, he pinned up the Turks afterward in

¹ Tyrius, lib. 19, cap. 16.

² Idem, cap. 18.

³ Idem, cap. 19.

the city of Alexandria, and forced them to receive of him conditions of peace, and then returned himself with honour to Askelon [Sept. 21, 1167].

CHAP. XXXVII.—*Almerick, against his Promise, invadeth Egypt. His Perjury punished with the future Ruin of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. His Death.*

WHEN a crown is the prize of the game, we must never expect fair play of the gamesters. King Almerick having looked on the beauty of the kingdom of Egypt, he longed for it [1168]; and now no longer to drive out the relics of the Turks, but to get Egypt to himself; and the next year, against the solemn league with the caliph, invaded it with a great army. He falsely pretended that the caliph would make a private peace with Noradin king of the Turks, and hence created his quarrel. For he hath a barren brain, who cannot fit himself with an occasion if he hath a desire to fall out. But Gilbert master of the Hospitallers chiefly stirred up the king to this war, upon promise that the city and country of Pelusium, if conquered, should be given to his order. The Templars were much against the design (one of their order was ambassador at the ratifying of the peace) and with much zeal protested against it, as undertaken against oath and fidelity.

An oath being the highest appeal, perjury must needs be a heinous sin, whereby God is solemnly invited to be witness of his own dishonour. And as bad is a God-mocking equivocation; for he that surpriseth truth with an ambush, is as bad an enemy as he that fighteth against her with a flat lie in open field. I know what is pleaded for King Almerick, namely, that Christians are not bound to keep faith with idolaters, the worshippers of a false god, as the Egyptian caliph was on the matter. But open so wide a window, and it will be in vain to shut any doors. All contracts with Pagans may easily be voided, if this evasion be allowed. But what saith St. Hierome? "It matters not to whom, but by whom we swear¹." And God, to acquit himself, knowing the Christians' prosperity could not stand with his justice after their perjury, frowned upon them. And from hence authors date the constant ill success of the holy war. For though this expedition sped well at the

¹ Non considerandum cui, sed per quem juraveris.—Comment. Ezek. xvii.

first, and Almerick won the city of Belbis or Pelusium, yet see what a cloud of miseries ensued.

First, Noradin in his absence wasted and won places near Antioch at pleasure.

Secondly, Meller prince of Armenia, a Christian, made a covenant with Noradin², and kept it most constantly, to the inestimable disadvantage of the king of Jerusalem. This act of Meller must be condemned, but withal God's justice admired. Christians break their covenant with Saracens in Egypt, whilst other Christians, to punish them, make and keep covenant with Turks in Asia.

Thirdly, the Saracens grew good soldiers on a sudden, who were naked at first, and only had bows; but now learned from the Christians to use all offensive and defensive weapons. Thus rude nations always better themselves in fighting with a skilful enemy. How good marksmen are the Irish nowadays, which some seventy years ago, at the beginning of their rebellions, had three men to discharge a handgun³!

Fourthly, Almerick's hopes of conquering Egypt were frustrated; for after some victories he was driven out, and that whole kingdom conquered by Saladin (nephew to Syracon), who killed the caliph with his horse-mace as he came to do him reverence, and made himself the absolutest Turkish king of Egypt. And presently after the death of Noradin [May, 1173], the kingdom of the Turks at Damascus was by their consent bestowed upon him. Indeed Noradin left a son, Melexala, who commanded in part of his father's dominions; but Saladin, after his death, got all for himself. Thus rising men shall still meet with more stairs to raise them; as those of falling, with stumbling-blocks to ruin them.

Meantime Jerusalem was a poor weatherbeaten kingdom, bleak and open to the storm of enemies on all sides, having no covert or shelter of any good friend near it, lying in the lion's mouth betwixt his upper and nether jaw; Damascus on the north, and Egypt on the south; two potent Turkish kingdoms, united under a puissant prince, Saladin. This made Almerick send for succours into Europe; for now, few voluntaries came to this service; soldiers must be pressed with importunity. Our western princes were prodigal of their pity, but niggardly of their help. The heat of the

² Centurist. Centur. 12, in Almerico.

³ Morison, in the Description of Ireland, anno 1598.

war in Palestine had cooled their desires to go thither, which made these ambassadors to return without supplies, having gone far to fetch home nothing but discomfort and despair.

Lastly, King Almerick himself, wearied with whole volleys of miseries, ended his life of a bloody flux, having reigned eleven full years, and was buried with his predecessors; leaving two children, Baldwin and Sibyll, by Agnes his first wife, and by Mary his second wife (daughter to John Proto-Sebastus, a Grecian prince), one daughter, Isabel; married afterwards to Hemphred III. prince of Thorone⁴.

CHAP. XXXVIII.—*Baldwin the Fourth succeedeth. His Education under William, the reverend Archbishop of Tyre.*

BALDWIN'S son, the fourth of that name, succeeded his father [July 15, 1174]; so like unto him, that we report the reader to the character of King Almerick, and will spare the repeating his description. Only he differed in the temper of his body, being inclined to the leprosy called elephantiasis, noisome to the patient, but not infectious to the company; not like Uzziah's, but Naaman's leprosy, which had it been contagious, no doubt the king of Assyria, when he went into the house of Rimmon, would have chosen another supporter. Meantime the kingdom was as sick as the king; he of a leprosy, that of an incurable consumption.

This Baldwin had the benefit of excellent education under William archbishop of Tyre, a pious man and excellent scholar, skilled in all the learned oriental tongues, besides the Dutch, and French his native language; a moderate and faithful writer: for in the latter part of his history of the holy war, his eye guided his hand, till at last the taking of the city of Jerusalem so shook his hand, that his pen fell out, and he wrote no more. Treasurer he was of all the money contributed to the holy war, chancellor of this kingdom; employed in several embassies in the west; present at the Lateran council, the acts whereof he did record: cardinal he might have been, but refused it¹: in a word, unhappy only that he lived in that age, though that age was happy he lived in it.

⁴ Tyrius, lib. 22, cap. 4.

¹ Centurist. Centur. in Episcopis.

CHAP. XXXIX.—*The Viciousness of Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. His Embassy to Henry the Second King of England, with the Success. The Maronites reconciled to the Roman Church.*

AFTER the death of Almerick, patriarch of Jerusalem, Heraclius was, by the queen-mother Mary, second wife to King Almerick, for his handsomeness, preferred to be patriarch [1181]. William, archbishop of Tyre, was violent against his election, because of a prophecy, that as Heraclius king of Persia won, so an Heraclius should lose the cross¹. But others excepted, that this exception was nothing worth; for let God give the man, and let the devil set the name. As for those blind prophecies, they miss the truth oftener than hit it; so that no wise man will lean his belief on so slender a prop. But Heraclius had a worse name than his name, the bad report of his vicious life; keeping a vintner's wife, whom he maintained in all state like an empress, and owned the children he had by her: her name, *Pascha de Rivera*², and she was generally saluted the patriarchess³. His example infected the inferior clergy, whose corruption was a sad presage of the ruin of the realm; for when prelates, the seers,—when once those eye-strings begin to break, the heart-strings hold not out long after.

In his time the Maronites were reconciled to the Roman church. Their main error was the heresy of the Monothelites, touching one only will and action in Christ. For after that the heresy of Nestorius, about two persons in our Saviour, was detested in the eastern churches, some thought not themselves safe enough for the heresy of two persons till they were fallen with the opposite extremity of one nature in Christ: violence making men reel from one extreme to another. The error once broached, found many embracers; as no opinion so monstrous, but if it hath had a mother, it will get a nurse. But now these Maronites, renouncing their tenets, received the Catholic faith [1182]; though soon after, when Saladin had conquered their country, they relapsed to their old errors; wherein they continued till the late times of Pope Gregory XIII. and Clement VIII., when they again renewed their communion with the Roman church. They live at this day on Mount Libanus, not exceeding twelve thousand households, and

¹ Besoldus, De Reg. Hieros. p. 282. ² Besoldus, p. 284.

³ Patriarchissa, Marinus San. lib. 3, parc. 6, cap. 24.

pay to the great Turk, for every one above twelve years old, seventeen sultanines by the year⁴; and for every space of ground sixteen span square, one sultanine yearly; to keep themselves free from the mixture of Mahometans. A sultanine is about seven shillings and sixpence of our money⁵.

To return to Heraclius. Soon after he was sent ambassador to Henry II. king of England [1185], to crave his personal assistance in the holy war, delivering unto him the royal standard, with the keys of our Saviour's sepulchre, the tower of David, and the city of Jerusalem, sent him by King Baldwin. King Henry was singled out for this service before other princes because the world justly reported him valiant, wise, rich, powerful, and fortunate; and (which was the main) hereby he might expiate his murder, and gather up again the innocent blood which he had shed of Thomas Becket. Besides, Heraclius entitled our Henry to the kingdom of Jerusalem because Geoffrey Plantagenet his father, was son (some say brother) to Fulco IV. king of Jerusalem. But King Henry was too wise to bite at such a bait, wherein was only the husk of title without the kernel of profit. Yet he pretended he would go into Palestine; and got hereby a mass of money towards his voyage, making every one, as well clerk as lay (saving such as went) to pay that year the tenth of all their revenues, moveables, and chattels, as well in gold as in silver. Of every city in England he chose the richest men; as in London two hundred, in York a hundred, and so in proportion; and took the tenth of all their moveables, by the estimation of credible men who knew their estates⁶; imprisoning those who refused to pay, *sub eleemosynæ titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, saith Walsingham. But now, when he had filled his purse, all expected he should fulfil his promise; when all his voyage into Palestine turned into a journey into France.

Heraclius, whilst he stayed in England, consecrated the Temple Church in the suburbs of London, and the house adjoining belonging to the Templars; since turned to a better use, for the students of our municipal law; these new Templars defending one Christian from another, as the old ones Christians from Pagans.

⁴ Possevine, Appar. sacr. in Maron.

⁵ Brierwood, Inquiries, cap. 25. ⁶ Daniel, in Henry II.

CHAP. XL.—*Saladin fitteth himself with foreign Forces. The Original and great Power of the Mamalukes, with their first Service.*

IN the minority of King Baldwin, who was but thirteen years old, Milo de Plauci, a nobleman, was protector of the realm; whose pride and insolence could not be brooked, and therefore he was stabbed at Ptolemais, and Reimund, count of Tripoli, chosen to succeed him.

Now Saladin seriously intendeth to set on the kingdom of Jerusalem, and seeketh to furnish himself with soldiers for that service. But he perceived that the ancient nation of the Egyptians had lasted so long, that now it ran dregs; their spirits being as low as the country they lived in, and they fitter to make merchants and mechanics than military men: for they were bred in such soft employments, that they were presently foundered with any hard labour. Wherefore he sent to the Circassians by the lake of Mæotis, near Taurica Chersonesus, and thence bought many slaves of able and active bodies. For it was a people born in a hard country (no fuel for pleasure grew there nor was brought thither), and bred harder; so that war was almost their nature, with custom of continual skirmishing with the neighbouring Tartars.

These slaves he trained up in military discipline, most of them being Christians once baptized; but afterwards untaught Christ, they learned Mahomet, and so became the worse foes to religion for once being her friends. These proved excellent soldiers and special horsemen, and are called mamalukes. And surely the greatness of Saladin and his successors stood not so much on the legs of their native Egyptians, as it leaned on the staff of these strangers. Saladin, and especially the Turkish kings after him, gave great power, and placed much trust in these mamalukes¹: who lived a long time in ignorance of their own strength, till at last they took notice of it, and scorning any longer to be factors for another, they would set up for themselves, and got the sovereignty from the Turkish kings. Thus princes who make their subjects overgreat, whet a knife for their own throats. And posterity may chance to see the insolent janizaries give the grand seignior such a trip on the heel as may tumble him on his back. But more largely of

¹ Tyrius, lib. 21, cap. 23.

these mamalukes usurping the kingdom of Egypt (God willing) in its proper place.

Thus Saladin, having furnished himself with new soldiers, went to handsel their valour upon the Christians, invaded the Holy Land, burning all the country before him, and raging in the blood of poor Christians, till he came and encamped about Askelon.

Meantime, whilst Reimund count of Tripoli, protector of the kingdom, with Philip earl of Flanders, and the chief strength of the kingdom, were absent in Celosyria, wasting the country about Emissa and Cæsarea, young King Baldwin lay close in Askelon, not daring to adventure on so strong an enemy. With whose fear Saladin encouraged, dispersed his army, some one way, some another, to forage the country. King Baldwin, courted with this opportunity, marched out privately, nor having past four hundred horse, with some few footmen, and assaulted his secure enemies, being six and twenty thousand [Nov. 25, 1176]. But victory standeth as little in the number of soldiers, as verity in the plurality of voices. The Christians got the conquest, and in great triumph returned to Jerusalem.

This overthrow rather madded than daunted Saladin; who, therefore, to recover his credit, some months after, with his mamalukes, fell like a mighty tempest upon the Christians, as they were parting the spoil of a band of Turks, whom they had vanquished; put many to the sword, the rest to flight. Otto, grand master of the Templars, and Hugh, son-in-law to the count of Tripoli, were taken prisoners; and the king himself had much ado to escape. And thus both sides being well wearied with war, they were glad to refresh themselves with a short slumber of a truce solemnly concluded; and their troubled estates breathed almost for the space of two years. Which truce Saladin the more willingly embraced, because of a famine in the kingdom of Damascus [1179], where it had scarce rained for five years together².

CHAP. XLI.—*The fatal Jealousies betwixt the King and Reimund Earl of Tripoli.*

BUT this so welcome a calm was troubled with domestical discords [1181]; for the king's mother (a woman of a turbulent spirit), and her brother, his steward, accused Reimund count of Tripoli, governor of the realm in the

² Centurist. Cent. 12, in Baldvino IV.

king's minority, as if he affected the crown for himself: which accusation this earl could never wholly wipe off. For slender and lean slanders quickly consume themselves; but he that is branded with a heinous crime (though false), when the wound is cured, his credit will be killed with the scar. Before we go further, let us view this Earl Reimund's disposition, and we shall find him marked to do mischief, and to ruin this realm. He was son to Reimund, grandchild to Pontius earl of Tripoli, by Cecilie, the daughter of Philip king of France¹, great grandchild to Bertram first earl of Tripoli, great great grandchild to Reimund earl of Toulouse, one of special note amongst the primitive adventurers in the holy war. His mother was Hodiern, third daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jerusalem. A man whose stomach was as high as his birth, and very serviceable to this state whilst the sharpness of his parts was used against the Turks, which at last turned edge against the Christians: proud, not able to digest the least wrong; and though long in captivity amongst the Turks, yet a very truant in the school of affliction, who never learned the lesson of patience; so revengeful, that he would strike his enemy, though it were through the sides of religion and the Christian cause. For this present accusation of treason good authors seem to be his compurgators for this at this time, though afterwards he discovered his treacherous intents. And because he could not rise by his service, he made his service fall by him, and undid what he had done for the public good, because thereby he could not attain his private ends. He commanded over the earldom of Tripoli, which was a territory of large extent, wherein he was absolute lord. And by the way we may take notice of this as one of the banes of the kingdom of Jerusalem, that the principalities of Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa (whilst it was Christian), were branches of this kingdom, but too big for the body; for the princes thereof, on each petty distaste, would stand on their guard, as if they had been subjects out of courtesy, not conscience; and though they confessed they owed the king allegiance, yet they would pay no more than they thought fitting themselves.

To return to King Baldwin. This suspicion of Earl Reimund, though at first but a buzz, soon got a sting in the king's head, and he violently apprehended it. Whereupon Reimund, coming to Jerusalem, was by the way commanded to stay, to his great disgrace. But some of the

¹ Tyrius, lib. 21, cap. 5.

nobility, foreseeing what danger this discord might bring, reconciled them with much labour. However, Baldwin ever after looked on this earl with a jealous eye. Jealousy, if it be fire in private persons, is wildfire in princes, who seldom rase out their names whom once they have written in their black bills. And, as the Italian proverb is, "Suspicion giveth a passport to faith to set it on packing;" so this earl, finding himself suspected, was never after cordially loyal, smothering his treachery in this king's life, which afterwards broke forth into an open flame.

CHAP. XLII.—*Saladin is conquered by King Baldwin, and conquereth Mesopotamia. Discords about the Protectorship of Jerusalem. The Death and Praise of Baldwin the Fourth.*

THE kingdom of Damascus being recovered of the famine, Saladin having gotten his ends by the truce, would now have the truce to end; and breaking it (as not standing with his haughty designs), marched with a great army out of Egypt through Palestine to Damascus, much spoiling the country. And now having joined the Egyptian with the Damascene forces, reentered the Holy Land. But young King Baldwin meeting him, though but with seven hundred to twenty thousand, at the village Frobolt, overthrew him in a great battle¹; and Saladin himself was glad with speedy flight to escape the danger, and by long marches to get him again to Damascus. Afterward he besieged Berytus both by sea and land; but the vigilance and valour of King Baldwin defeated his taking of it.

Saladin, finding such tough resistance in the Holy Land, thought to make a better purchase by laying out his time in Mesopotamia. Wherefore, passing Euphrates, he won Charran and divers other cities; and then returning, in Syria besieged Aleppo, the strongest place the Christians had in that country; so fortified by nature, that he had little hope to force it. But treason will run up the steepest ascent, where valour itself can scarce creep; and Saladin, with the battery of bribes, made such a breach in the loyalty of the governor, that he betrayed it unto him.

Thus he cometh again into the Holy Land more formidable than ever before, carrying an army of terror in the mentioning of his name, which drove the poor Christians all into their fenced cities. As for King Baldwin, the leprosy

¹ Centurist. Cent 12, in Baldvino IV.

had arrested him prisoner, and kept him at home. Long had this king's spirit endured this infirmity, swallowing many a bitter pang with a smiling face, and going upright with patient shoulders under the weight of his disease. It made him put all his might to it, because when he yielded to his sickness, he must leave off the managing of the state; and he was loath to put off his royal robes before he went to bed, a crown being too good a companion for one to part with willingly. But at last he was made to stoop, and retired himself to a private life [1183], appointing Baldwin his nephew (a child of five years old) his successor; and Guy earl of Joppa and Askelon, this child's father-in-law, to be protector of the realm in his minority.

But soon after he revoked this latter act, and designed Reimund earl of Tripoli for the protector. He displaced Guy, because he found him of no over-weight worth, scarce passable without favourable allowance, little feared of his foes, and as little loved of his friends. The more martial Christians slighted him as a slug, and neglected so lazy a leader that could not keep pace with those that were to follow him: yea, they refused (whilst he was protector) at his command to fight with Saladin; and, out of distaste to their general, suffered their enemy freely to forage; which was never done before: for the Christians never met any Turks wandering in the Holy Land, but on even terms they would examine their passport how sufficient it was, and bid them battle.

Guy stormed at his displacing, and though little valiant, yet very sullen, left the court in discontent, went home, and fortified his cities of Joppa and Askelon. What should King Baldwin do in this case? Whom should he make protector? Guy had too little, Reimund too much spirit for the place. He feared Guy's cowardliness, lest he should lose the kingdom to the Turks; and Reimund's treachery, lest he should get it for himself. Thus anguish of mind and weakness of body (a doughty conquest for their united strengths, which single might suffice) ended this king's days, dying young at five and twenty years of age. But if by the morning we may guess at the day, he would have been no whit inferior to any of his predecessors; especially if his body had been able: but (alas!) it spoiled the music of his soul, that the instrument was quite out of tune. He reigned twelve years, and was buried in the Temple of the Sepulchre [May 16, 1185]: a king happy in this, that he died before the death of his kingdom.

CHAP. XLIII.—*The short Life and woful Death of Baldwin the Fifth, an Infant. Guy, his Father-in-law, succeedeth him.*

IT is a rare happiness of the family of St. Laurence [1185], barons of Howth in Ireland¹, that the heirs for four hundred years together always have been of age before the death of their fathers: for minors have not only baned families, but ruined realms. It is one of God's threatenings: "I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them²." With this rod God struck the kingdom of Jerusalem thrice in forty years; Baldwin the third, fourth, and fifth, being all under age; and this last but five years old. He was the posthumous son of William, marquis of Montferrat, by Sibyll his wife, sister to Baldwin IV. daughter to King Almerick: she was afterwards married to Guy, earl of Joppa and Askelon.

Now Reimund earl of Tripoli challenged to be protector of this young king, by the virtue of an act of the former king so assigning him. But Sibyll, mother to this infant, to defeat Reimund, first murdered all natural affection in herself, and then by poison murdered her son; that so the crown in her right might come to her husband Guy. This Baldwin reigned eight months and eight days³, saith mistaken Munster; and some mistake more, who make him not to reign at all: cruel to wrong his memory of his honour, whom his mother had robbed both of his life and kingdom.

His death was concealed, till Guy, his father-in-law, had obtained by large bribes to the Templars and Heraclius the patriarch, to be crowned king: one more ennobled with his descent from the ancient family of the Lusignans in Poictou, than for any eminence in himself⁴: his gifts were better than his endowments. Yet had he been more fortunate, he would have been accounted more virtuous; men commonly censuring that the fault of the king, which is the fate of the kingdom. And now the Christian affairs here posted to their woful period, being spurred on by the discords of the princes.

¹ Camd. Brit. in the Descript. of the County of Dublin.

² Isa. iii. 4. ³ Cosmog. lib. 5, in Terra Sancta.

⁴ Tyrius, lib. 22, cap. 25 et 27, calleth him hominem indiscretum et penitus inutilem.

CHAP. XLIV.—*Church Affairs. Of Haymericus, Patriarch of Antioch. Of the Grecian Anti-patriarchs; and of the learned Theodorus Balsamon.*

WHILST Heraclius did patriarch it in Jerusalem, one Haymericus had the same honour at Antioch. He wrote to Henry II. king of England, a bemoaning letter of the Christians in the East, and from him received another, fraught with never-performed fair promises. This man must needs be different from that Haymericus who began his patriarchship in Antioch anno 1143, and sat but twelve years, say the centuriators¹: but Baronius², as different from them sometimes in chronology as divinity, maketh them the same. Then must he be a thorough old man, enjoying his place above forty years; being probably before he wore the style of patriarch, well worn in years himself. I must confess it passeth my chymistry to exact any agreement herein out of the contrariety of writers. We must also take notice that, besides the Latin patriarchs in Jerusalem and Antioch, there were also Grecian anti-patriarchs appointed by the emperor of Constantinople; who, having no temporal power nor profit by church lands, had only jurisdiction over those of the Greek church. We find not the chain of their succession, but here and there light on a link; and at this time in Jerusalem on three successively:—1. Athanasius, whom though one³ out of his abundant charity is pleased to style a schismatic, yet was he both pious and learned, as appeareth by his epistles. 2. Leontius, commended likewise to posterity for a good clerk and an honest man⁴. 3. Dositheus, inferior to the former in both respects⁵: Isaac the Grecian emperor sent to make him patriarch of Constantinople, and Dositheus catching at both, held neither, but betwixt two patriarchs' chairs fell to the ground.

Antioch also had her Greek patriarchs: as one Sotericus displaced for maintaining some unsound tenets about our Saviour; after him Theodorus Balsamon, the oracle of the learned law in his age. He compiled and commented on the ancient canons; and principally set forth the privileges of Constantinople; listening, say the Romanists, to the least noise that soundeth to the advancing of the eastern churches,

¹ Centur. 12, in Episcop. ² Annal. Eccl. in Haymerico.

³ Baronius, in anno 1180.

⁴ Nicetas Choniates, in Isaacio Angelo, p. 438.

⁵ Idem, ibidem.

and knocking down Rome wheresoever it peepeth above Constantinople. This maketh Bellarmine except against him as a partial writer; because a true historian should be neither party, advocate, nor judge, but a bare witness.

By Isaac the Grecian emperor this Balsamon was also deceived⁶: he pretended to remove him to Constantinople, on condition he would prove the translation of the patriarch to be legal, which is forbidden by the canons. Balsamon took upon him to prove it: and a lawyer's brains will beat to purpose when his own preferment is the fee. But herein he did but crack the nut for another to eat the kernel: for the emperor mutable in his mind, changing his favourites as well as his clothes before they were old, when the legality of the translation was avowed, bestowed the patriarchship of Constantinople on another; and Theodorus was still staked down at Antioch in a true spiritual preferment, affording him little bodily maintenance.

CHAP. XLV—*The Revolt of the Earl of Tripoli. The Christians irrecoverably overthrown, and their King taken Prisoner.*

THERE was at this time [1187] a truce betwixt the Christians and Saladin, broken on this occasion: Saladin's mother went from Egypt to Damascus, with much treasure and a little train, as sufficiently guarded with the truce yet in force; when Reinold of Castile surprised and robbed her. Saladin, glad of this occasion, gathereth all his strength together, and besiegeth Ptolemais.

Now Reimund earl of Tripoli appeareth in his colours, vexed at the loss of the government. His great stomach had no room for patience: and his passions boiled from a fever to a phrensy; so that, blinded with anger at King Guy, he mistaketh his enemy, and will be revenged on God and religion; revolting with his principality (a third part of the kingdom of Jerusalem) to Saladin; and in his own person, under a vizard, assisted him in this siege.

Out of the city marched the Templars and Hospitallers, and falling on the Turks killed twenty thousand of them [May 1.]. Yet they gave well nigh a valuable consideration for their victory, the master of the Hospitallers being slain; and a brave general in battle never dieth unattended.

Saladin hereupon raiseth his siege; and Reimund earl of Tripoli, whether out of fear the Christians might prevail,

⁶ Nicetas Chron. in Isaacio, p. 440.

or remorse of conscience, or discontent, not finding the respect he expected of Saladin (who had learned the politic maxim, to give some honour, no trust to a fugitive) reconciled himself to King Guy; and, sorry for his former offence, returned to the Christians.

King Guy hereupon gathering the whole strength of his weak kingdom to do their last devoir, determined to bite Saladin in battle; though having but fifteen hundred horse, and fifteen thousand foot, against a hundred and twenty thousand horse, and a hundred and sixty thousand foot. Nigh Tiberias the battle was fought [July 3]; they closed in the afternoon, but night moderating betwixt them, both sides drew their stakes till next morning; then on afresh. The Christians' valour poised the number of their enemies; till at last the distemper of the weather turned the scales to the Turks' side. More Christians (thirsty within and scalded without) were killed with the beams the sun darted, than with the arrows the enemies shot. Reinold of Castile was slain, with most of the Templars and Hospitallers. Gerard master of the Templars, and Boniface marquis of Montferrat, were taken prisoners¹; and also Guy the king, who saw the rest of his servants slain before his eyes, only obtaining of Saladin the life of his schoolmaster. Yea, in this battle, the flower of the Christian chivalry was cut down; and, what was most lamented, the cross (saith Matthew Paris), which freed men from the captivity of their sins, was for men's sins taken captive. Most impute this overthrow to the earl of Tripoli, who that day commanded a great part of the Christian army, and is said on some treacherously to have fled away. But when a great action miscarrieth, the blame must be laid on some; and commonly it lighteth on them who formerly have been found false, be it right or wrong; so impossible is it for him who once hath broken his credit by treason, ever to have it perfectly jointed again. It increaseth the suspicion, because this earl, afterwards found dead in his bed (as some say), was circumcised.

Victorious Saladin, as he had thrown a good cast, played it as well; in a month conquering Berytus, Biblus, Ptolemais, and all the havens (Tyre excepted), from Sidon to Askelon. He used his conquest with much moderation, giving lives and goods to all, and forcing no Christians to depart their cities, save only the Latins. This his gentle-

¹ Besoldus, in Guidone; ex Crusio.

ess proceeded from policy, well knowing that if the Christians could not buy their lives cheap, they would sell them dear, and fight it out to the uttermost. Askelon was out, and would not surrender. Wherefore Saladin, loath with the hazard of so long a siege to check his fortune in the full speed, left it, and went to Jerusalem, as to a place of less difficulty and more honour to conquer.

CHAP. XLVI.—*Jerusalem won by the Turk; with woful Remarkables thereat.*

BEFORE the beginning of the siege, the sun, as sympathizing with the Christians' woes, was eclipsed [Sept. 4]. A sad presage of the loss of Jerusalem. For though those within the city valiantly defended it for a fortnight, yet they saw it was but the playing out of a desperate game which must be lost: their foes near, their friends far off; and those willing to pity, unable to help. Why then should they prolong languishing, where they could not preserve life? Concluding to lavish no more valour, they yielded up the city [Oct. 2], on condition all their lives might be redeemed, a man for ten, a woman for five, a child for one besant¹; and fourteen thousand poor people, not able to pay their ransom, were kept in perpetual bondage. All Latins were cast out of the city, but those of the Greek religion were permitted to stay therein; only Saladin to two Frenchmen gave liberty to abide there, and maintenance to live on, in reverence to their age: the one Robert of Corbie, a soldier to Godfrey of Bouillon when he won this city; the other Fulco Fiole, the first child born in the city after the Christians had conquered it².

Saladin, possessed of Jerusalem, turned the churches into stables, sparing only that of the Sepulchre for a great sum of money. Solomon's Temple he converted to a mosque, sprinkling it all over with rose-water, as if he would wash it from profaneness, whilst he profaned it with his washing.

Thus Jerusalem, after it had fourscore and eight years been enjoyed by the Christians, by God's just judgment was taken again by the Turks. What else could be expected? Sin reigned in every corner; there was scarce one honest woman in the whole city of Jerusalem³. Heraclius the patriarch, with the clergy, was desperately

¹ M. Paris, in anno 1187.

² Besoldus, in Guidone, p. 285.

³ Ibid, p. 284,

vicious; and no wonder if iron rust, when gold doth; and if the laity followed their bad example.

This doleful news brought into Europe, filled all with sighs and sorrows. Pope Urban III. (as another Eli at the ark's captivity) died for grief; the cardinals lamented out of measure, vowing such reformation of manners; never more to take bribes, never more to live so viciously; yea, never to ride on a horse so long as the Holy Land was under the feet of the Turks⁴. But this their passion spent itself with its own violence, and these mariners' vows ended with the tempest.

In this general grief of Christendom, there was one woman found to rejoice, and she a German prophetess called St. Christian, a virgin; who, as she had foretold the day of the defeat, so on the same she professed that she saw in a vision Christ and his angels rejoicing. For the loss of the earthly Canaan was gain to the heavenly; peopling it with many inhabitants, who were conquerors in their overthrow; whilst they requited Christ's passion, and died for him who suffered for them⁵. But for the truth both of the doctrine and history hereof, none need burden their belief farther than they please. We will conclude all with Roger Hoveden's witty descant on the time⁶:—When Jerusalem was won by the Christians, and afterwards when it was lost, an Urban was pope of Rome, a Frederick emperor of Germany, an Heraclius patriarch of Jerusalem. But by his leave, though the first of his observations be true, the second is a flat falsity, the third a foul mistake, and may thus be mended: (it is charity to lend a crutch to a lame conceit)—When the cross was taken from the Persians, Heraclius was emperor; and when it was taken from the Turks, Heraclius was patriarch. Thus these curious observations (like over-small watches), not one of a hundred goeth true. Though it cannot be denied, but the same name (as Henry of England, one the win-all, another the lose-all in France) hath often been happy and unhappy in founding and confounding of kingdoms. But such nominal toys are rags not worth a wise man's stooping to take them up.

⁴ Roger Hoveden, in Henrico, anno 1187.

⁵ Quendam mortis Salvatoris vicem cum multa devotione rependunt.—Baronius, in anno 1187. ⁶ Loco prius citato.



BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—*Conrad of Montferrat valiantly defendeth Tyre, and is chosen King.*

IN this woful estate stood the Christian affairs in the Holy Land, when Conrad marquis of Montferrat arrived there. His worth commandeth my pen to wait on him from his own country till he came hither. Soon he was to Boniface marquis of Montferrat, and had spent his youth in the service of Isaac Angelus, the Grecian emperor. This Isaac, fitter for a priest than a prince, was always bred in a private way; and the confining of his body seemeth to have brought him to a pent and narrow soul. For he suffered rebels to affront him to his face, never sending an army against them, but commending all his cause to a company of barefooted friars whom he kept in his court, desiring them to pray for him, and by their pious tears to quench the combustions in the empire. But our Conrad plainly told him, he must use as well the weapons of the left hand as of the right¹; meaning the sword as well as prayers; and by the advice of this his general, he quickly subdued all his enemies. Which his great service found small reward; only he was graced to wear his shoes of the imperial fashion²; a low matter, but there (forsooth) accounted a high honour. But soon after Isaac was sick of this physician who had cured his empire. If private debtors care not for the company of their creditors, much less do princes love to see them to whom they owe themselves and their kingdom; so unwelcome are courtesies to them when above their requital. Now it is ancient policy, to rid away high spirits by sending them on some plausible errand into remote parts, there to seek for themselves an honourable grave. To this end Isaac by the persuasions of some spurred on Conrad (free enough of himself to any noble action), to go into Palestine, there to support the

¹ Nicetas, in Isaacio Angelo, lib. 1, § 7.

² Ibid, lib. 2, § 1.—Μόνον τὸ μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμῶχροον ὑποδημα τῷ ποδὸς τὸ τῶν Καισάρων λεγῶ παράσημον.

ruinous affairs of the Christians. Conrad was sensible of their plot, but suffered himself to be wrought on, being weary of the Grecians' baseness, and came into the Holy Land with a brave company of gentlemen furnished on their own cost.

For a while we set him aside, and return to Saladin; who by this time had taken Askelon, on condition that King Guy, and Gerard, master of the Templars, should be set at liberty. Nor long after was the castle of Antioch betrayed unto him by the patriarch³; and the city, scarce got with eleven months' siege, was lost in an instant, with five and twenty strong towns more, which attended the fortune of Antioch: and many provinces thereto belonging, came into the possession of the Turks. Must not the Christians needs be bankrupts if they continue this trade, buying dear, and selling cheap; gaining by inches, and losing by ells?

With better success those in Tripoli (which city the wife of Earl Reimund after his death delivered to the Christians) defended themselves against Saladin⁴. For shame they would not forego their shirts, though they had parted with their clothes. Stark naked from shelter had the Christians been left, if stripped out of Tripoli and Tyre. Manfully therefore they defended themselves; and Saladin, having tasted of their valour in Tripoli, had no mind to mend his draught, but marched away to Tyre.

But Conrad of Montferrat, who was in Tyre with his army, so used the matter, that Saladin was fain to fly, and leave his tents behind him, which were lined with much treasure; and the Christians had that happiness to squeeze that sponge which formerly was filled with their spoil. They in Tyre, in token of gratitude, chose this Conrad king of Jerusalem; swearing themselves his subjects who had kept them from being the Turks' slaves. To strengthen his title, he married Eliza or Isabella⁵ (authors christen her with either name), formerly espoused to Humfred of Thorone, sister to Baldwin IV., daughter to Almerick king of Jerusalem.

By this time King Guy was delivered out of prison [1188], having sworn never more to bear arms against Saladin; which oath by the clergy was adjudged void, because forced from him when he was detained in prison, unjustly against

³ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 5, p. 377.

⁴ Hoveden.

⁵ Besoldus, ex Ritio De Reg. p. 293.

promise. The worst was, now he had gained his liberty, he could not get his kingdom. Coming to Tyre, they shut the gates against him, owning no king but Conrad. Thus to have two kings together, is the way to have neither king nor kingdom.

But Guy following the affront as well as he might, and piecing up a cloth of remnants, with his broken army besieged Ptolemais [August]. The Pisans, Venetians, and Florentines, with their sea succours, came to assist him. But this siege was churchwork, and therefore went on slowly; we may easier perceive it to have moved than to move, especially if we return hither a twelvemonth hence.

CHAP. II.—*The Church Story in the Holy Land to the End of the War. The Use and Abuse of titular Bishops.*

WE must now no longer look for a full face of a church in the Holy Land; it is well if we find one cheek and an eye. Though Jerusalem and Antioch were won by the Turks, the pope ceased not to make patriarchs of both. We will content ourselves with the names of those of Jerusalem, finding little else of them remarkable.

After Heraclius, Thomas Agni was patriarch, present in the Lateran council under Innocent III¹.

Geraldus succeeded him, who sided with the pope against Frederick the emperor².

Albertus, patriarch in Jerusalem when the Christians lost their land in Syria. He prescribed some rules to the Carmelites³.

After him, Antony Beak, bishop of Durham, the most triumphant prelate of the English militant church, except Cardinal Wolsey. He founded and endowed a college for prebends at Chester⁴, in the bishopric of Durham; yet no doubt he had done a deed more acceptable to God, if instead of sacrifice he had done justice, and not defrauded the Lord Vessy's heir, to whom he was guardian. Let those who are delighted with sciography paint out (if they please) these shadow-patriarchs, as also those of Antioch, and deduce their succession to this day: for this custom still continueth, and I find the suffragans to several arch-

¹ Centur. Cent. 13, cap. 9.

² Matth. Paris, in anno 1229.

³ Centur. ut priùs.

⁴ Camden, Brit. p. 601. Godwin, in Episc. Dunelm. See this catalogue of patriarchs altered and perfected in the Chronology.

bishops and bishops in Germany and France style themselves bishops of Palestine⁵: for example, the suffragans of—1. Tournay, 2. Munster, 3. Mentz, 4. Utrecht, 5. Sens, 6. Triers, write themselves bishops of 1. Sarepta, 2. Ptolemais, 3. Sidon, 4. Hebron, 5. Cæsarea, 6. Azotus. But well did one in the council of Trent give these titular bishops the title of *figmenta humana*, man's devices⁶; because they have as little ground in God's word and the ancient canons for their making, as ground in Palestine for their maintenance: yea, a titular bishop soundeth a contradiction; for a bishop and a church or diocess are relatives, as a husband and his wife. Besides, these bishops, by ascending to so high an honour, were fain to descend to many indecencies and indignities to support themselves, with many corruptions in selling of orders they conferred, the truest and basest simony.

However the pope still continueth in making of them. First, because it is conceived to conduce to the state and amplitude of the Roman church to have so many bishops in it, as it is the credit of the apothecary to have his shop full, though many outside-painted pots be empty within. Secondly, hereby his holiness hath a facile and cheap way both to gratify and engage ambitious spirits, and such chameleons as love to feed on air. Yea, the pope is not only free of spiritual dignities, but also of temporal titular honours; as when, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, he made Thomas Stukely (a bankrupt in loyalty as well as in his estate) marquis of Leinster, earl of Wexford and Carlow, Viscount Murrough, Baron Rosse and Hydron in Ireland⁷: the best is, these honours were not heavy nor long worn, he being slain soon after in Barbary, else the number of them would have broken his back. Lastly, there is a real use made of these nominal bishops; for these ciphers, joined with figures, will swell a number, and sway a side in a general council, as his holiness pleaseth; so that he shall truly *cogere concilium*, both gather and compel it. Of the four archbishops which were at the first session in the council of Trent, two were merely titular, who never had their feet in those churches whence they took their honour⁸. But enough hereof. Now to matters of the commonwealth.

⁵ Adricomius, in Terra Sancta.

⁶ History of Trent. lib. 8, p. 7.

⁷ Camd. Brit. in his Descript. of Dublin.

⁸ History of Trent, lib. 2, p. 140.

CHAP. III.—*Frederick Barbarossa's setting forth to the Holy Land. Of the tyrannous Grecian Emperors.*

MATTERS going thus wofully in Palestine, the Christians' sighs there were alarms to stir up their brethren in Europe to go to help them, and chiefly Frederick Barbarossa, the German emperor. Impute it not to the weakness of his judgment, but the strength of his devotion, that at seventy years of age, having one foot in his grave, he would set the other on pilgrimage. We must know that this emperor had been long tied to the stake, and baited with seven fresh successive popes; till at last, not conquered with the strength, but wearied with the continuance of their malice, he gave himself up to be ordered by them; and Pope Clement III. sent him on this voyage into the Holy Land.

Marching through Hungary with a great army of one hundred and fifty thousand valiant soldiers, he was welcomed by King Bela¹ [June 29]. But changing his host, his entertainment was changed; being basely used when he entered into the Grecian empire.

Of the emperors whereof we must speak somewhat. For though being to write the Holy War I will climb no hedges, to trespass on any other story; yet will I take leave to go the highway, and touch on the succession of those princes which lead to the present discourse.

When Conrad, emperor of Germany, last passed this way, Emmanuel was emperor in Greece; who, having reigned thirty-eight years, left his place to Alexius, his son: a youth, the depth of whose capacity only reached to understand pleasure; governed by the factious nobility, till, in his third year, he was strangled by Andronicus, his cousin.

Andronicus succeeded him; a diligent reader and a great lover of St. Paul's epistles², but a bad practiser of them: who rather observing the devil's rule, that it is the best way for those who have been bad to be still worse, fencing his former villanies by committing new ones, held by tyranny what he had gotten by usurpation; till, having lived in the blood of others, he died in his own, tortured to death by the headless multitude; from whom he received all the

¹ Arnoldus Lubecensis.

² Nicetas Choniates, in *sine Vitæ Andronici*.

cruelties which might be expected from servile natures when they command.

Then Isaac Angelus, of the imperial blood, was placed in his throne; of whom partly before³. Nero-like, he began mildly, but soon fell to the trade of tyranny: no personal, but the hereditary sin of these emperors. He succeeded also to their suspicions against the Latins, as if they came through his country for some sinister ends. This jealous emperor reigned when Frederick, with his army, passed this way; and many bad offices were done betwixt these two emperors by unfaithful ambassadors⁴, as such false *mediums* have often deceived the best eyes. But Frederick, finding perfidious dealing in the Greeks, was drawn to draw his sword, taking as he went Philippople⁵, Adrianople [Aug. 25], and many other cities, not so much to get their spoil as his own security. Isaac understanding hereof, and seeing these pilgrims would either find or make their passage, left all terms of enmity, and fell to a fair complying [1190], accommodating them with all necessities for their transportation over the Bosphorus [March 28], pretending to hasten them away because the Christians' exigencies in Palestine admitted of no delay; doing it indeed for fear, the Grecians loving the Latins best when they are farthest from them.

CHAP. IV.—*The great Victories and woful Death of Frederick, the worthy Emperor.*

FREDERICK, entering into the territories of the Turkish sultan of Iconium, found great resistance, but vanquished his enemies in four several set battles. Iconium he took by force [May 19], giving the spoil thereof to his soldiers, in revenge of the injuries done to his uncle Conrad the emperor, by the sultan of that place. The city of Philomela he made to sing a doleful tune, razing it to the ground, and executing all the people therein, as rebels against the law of nations, for killing his ambassadors; and so came with much difficulty and honour into Syria.

Saladin shook for fear, hearing of his coming; and, following the advice of Charatux, his counsellor¹ (counted one of the wisest men in the world, though his person was

³ In the first chapter of this book.

⁴ Nicetas Choniates, in Isaacio, lib. 2, p. 436.

⁵ Baronius, Annal.

¹ Æmilius, in Phil. Augusto, p. 178, 179.

most contemptible; so true it is, none can guess the jewel by the casket), dismantled all his cities in the Holy Land, save some frontier places, razing their walls and forts, that they were not tenable with an army. For he feared if the Dutch won these places, they would not easily be driven out; whereas now, being naked from shelter, he would weary them with set battles, having men numberless, and whose near at hand; and so he would tame the Roman eagle by watching him, giving him no rest nor respite from continual fighting. It is therefore no paradox to say, that in some case the strength of a kingdom doth consist in the weakness of it. And hence it is, that our English kings have suffered time, without disturbing her meals, to feed her belly full on their inland castles and city walls; which, whilst they were standing in their strength, were but the nurseries of rebellion. And now, as one observeth², because we have no strong cities, war in England waxeth not old (being quickly stabbed with set battles), which in the Low Countries hath already outlived the grand climacterical of threescore and ten years.

But Frederick the emperor, being now entering into the Holy Land, was, to the great grief of all Christians, suddenly taken away, being drowned in the river of Saleph; a river (such is the envy of barbarism, obscuring all places) which cannot accurately be known at this day, because this new name is a stranger to all ancient maps. If he went in to wash himself, as some write, he neither consulted with his health nor honour: some say his horse foundered under him as he passed the water; others, that he fell from him. But these several relations, as variety of instruments, make a doleful concert in this, that there he lost his life: and no wonder, if the cold water quickly quenched those few sparks of natural heat left in him at seventy years of age. Neubrigensis³ conceiveth that this his sudden death was therefore inflicted on him because, in his youth, he fought against the popes and church of Rome: but I wonder that he, seeing the emperor drowned in a ditch, durst adventure into the bottomless depths of God's counsels. Let it content us to know, that oftentimes heaven blasteth those hopes which bud first and fairest; and the feet of mighty monarchs do slip, when they want but one step to their enemies' throne.

After his death, Frederick, duke of Suabia, his second

² Barklay.—*Bellum in Anglia non senescit.*

³ Lib. 4, cap. 13.

son, undertook the conduct of the army. Now the Turks, conceiving grief had steeped and moistened these pilgrims' hearts, gave them a sudden charge, in hope to have overthrown them. But the valiant Dutch, who, though they had scarce wiped their eyes, had scoured their swords, quickly forced them to retire. Then Frederick took the city of Antioch [June 21], which was easily delivered unto him, and his hungry soldiers well refreshed by the citizens, being as yet, for the most part, Christians. Marching from hence in set battle, he overthrew Dodequin, general of Saladin's forces, slew four thousand, and took a thousand prisoners, with little loss of his own men; and so came to the city of Tyre, where he buried the corpse of his worthy father in the cathedral church, next the tomb of learned Origen; and Gulielmus Tyrius, the worthy archbishop, preached his funeral sermon. We may hear his sorrowful army speaking this his epitaph unto him:—

Earth scarce did yield ground enough for thy sword
To conquer, how then could a brook afford
Water to drown thee? Brook, which since doth fear
(O guilty conscience) in a map to' appear.
Yet blame we not the brook, but rather think
The weight of our own sins did make thee sink.
Now sith 'tis so, we'll fetch a brackish main
Out of our eyes, and drown thee once again.

From hence, by sea, they were conveyed to the Christians' army before Ptolemais, where young Frederick died of the plague: and his great army, which at first consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand at their setting forth out of Germany, had now no more left than eighteen hundred armed men⁴.

CHAP. V.—*The Continuation of the famous Siege of Ptolemais. The Dutch Knights honoured with a Grand Master.*

WE have now, at our leisure, overtaken the snail-like siege of Ptolemais; still slowly creeping on. Before it the Christians had not only a national but oecumenical army; the abridgment of the Christian world: scarce a state or populous city in Europe but had here some competent number to represent it.

⁴ Æmilius, in *Phil.* 2, p. 175.

How many bloody blows were here lent on both sides, and repaid with interest; what sallies, what assaults, what counters, whilst the Christians lay betwixt Saladin with his great army behind them, and the city before them! The memorable battle we must not omit. It was agreed betwixt Saladin and the Christians to try their fortunes in a pitched field; and now the Christians were in fair hope of conquest, when an imaginary causeless fear put them to a total flight¹; so ticklish are the scales of victory, a very note will turn them. Thus confusedly they ran away, and what would have been given to change a strong arm for a swift leg. But behold, Geoffrey Lusignan, King Guy's brother (left for the guarding of the camp), marching out with his men, confuted the Christians in this their groundless mistake, and reinforced them to fight, whereby they won on the day, though with the loss of two thousand men, and Gerard, master of the Templars.

It was vainly hoped, that after this victory the city would be surrendered; but the Turks still bravely defended it, though most of their houses were burnt and beaten down, and the city reduced to a bare *skeleton* of walls and towers. They fought as well with their wits as weapons, and both sides devised strange defensive and offensive engines; so that Mars himself, had he been here present, might have learned to fight, and have taken notes from their practice. Meantime famine raged amongst the Christians; and though some provision was now and then brought in from Italy (for so far they fetched it), yet these small showers after great droughts parched the more, and rather raised than abated their hunger.

Once more we will take our farewell of this siege for a twelvemonth: but we must not forget that at this time, before the walls of Ptolemais, the Teutonic order, or Dutch Knights² (which since the days of Baldwin II. lived like private pilgrims) had now their order honoured with Henry of Walpot their first grand master, and they were enriched by the bounty of many German benefactors. These, though slow, were sure; they did *hoc agere*, ply their work; more cordial to the Christian cause than the Templars, who sometimes, to save their own stakes, would play booty with the Turks. Much good service did the Dutch knights in the holy war; till at last (no wise doctor will lavish physic on

¹ Fuga imaginario metu orta.—Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 5, p. 377.

² Munster, de Germania, lib. 3, p. 778.

him in whom he seeth *faciem cadaverosam*, so that death hath taken possession in the sick man's countenance), finding this war to be desperate, and *dedecus fortitudinis*, they even fairly left the Holy Land, and came into Europe meaning to lay out their valour on something that would quit cost. But hereof hereafter.

CHAP. VI.—*Richard of England and Philip of France set forward to the Holy Land. The Danger of the Inter-views of Princes.*

THE miseries of the Christians in Syria being reported in Europe, made Richard I. king of England, and Philip II., surnamed Augustus, king of France, to make up all private dissensions betwixt them, and to unite their forces against the Turks.

Richard was well stored with men, the bones, and quickly got money, the sinews of war; by a thousand princely skills gathering so much coin as if he meant not to return because looking back would unbow his resolution. To Hugh, bishop of Durham, for his life, he sold the county of Northumberland; jesting, he had made a new earl of an old bishop¹: he sold Berwick and Roxburgh to the Scottish king for ten thousand pounds: yea, he protested he would sell his city of London² (if any were able to buy it) rather than he would be burdensome to his subjects for money. But take this, as he spake it, for a flourish: for, pretending he had lost his old, he made a new seal, wherewith he squeezed his subjects, and left a deep impression in their purses; forcing them to have all their instruments new sealed, which any ways concerned the crown³.

Having now provided for himself, he forgot not his younger brother, John earl of Morton, who was to stay behind him; an active man, who, if he misliked the maintenance was cut for him, would make bold to carve for himself: lest, therefore, straitened for means, he should swell into discontent, King Richard gave him many earldoms and honours, to the yearly value of four thousand marks. Thus he received the golden saddle, but none of the bridle of the commonwealth; honour and riches were heaped upon him but no place of trust and command. For the king deputed William, bishop of Ely, his viceroy; choosing him for that place rather than any lay earl, because a coronet perchance

¹ Matthew Paris, Rich. I. p. 207.

² Martinus, in Richardo I.

³ Speed, in Richard I.

ay swell into a crown, but never a mitre: for a clergyman's calling made him incapable of usurpation in his own person.

Thus having settled matters at home, he set forth with any of our nation, which either ushered or followed him. Of these the prime were, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, Robert earl of Leicester, Ralph de Glanville late chief justice of England, Richard de Clare, Walter de Kime, &c. The bishops of Durham and Norwich, though they had vowed this voyage, were dispensed with by the court of Rome (*quæ nulli deest pecuniæ largienti*⁴) to stay at home. His navy he sent about Spain, and with a competent number took his own journey through France.

At Tours he took his pilgrim's scrip and staff from the archbishop. His staff at the same time casually brake in pieces⁵; which some (whose dexterity lay in sinister interpreting all accidents) construed a token of ill success. Likewise, when he and the French king, with their trains, passed over the bridge of Lyons, on the fall of the bridge his conceit was built, that there would be a falling out betwixt these two kings⁶; which accordingly came to pass, their intercourse and familiarity breeding hatred and discontent betwixt them.

Yea, the interviews of equal princes have ever been observed dangerous. Now princes measure their equality not by the extent of their dominions, but by the absolute-ness of their power; so that he that is supreme and independent in his own country counteth himself equal to any other prince how great soever. Perchance some youthful kings may disport and solace themselves one in another's company, whilst as yet pleasure is all the elevation of their souls; but when once they grow sensible of their own greatness (a lesson they will quickly learn, and shall never want teachers), then emulation will be betwixt them; because at their meeting they cannot so go in equipage but one will still be the foremost: either his person will be more proper, or carriage more courtlike, or attendance more accomplished, or attire more fashionable, or something will either be or conceived to be more majestical in one than the other: and corrivals in honour count themselves eclipsed

⁴ Matthew Paris, in Richardo I. p. 207.

⁵ Roger Hoveden, in Richardo I. p. 666.

⁶ Idem, ibidem.

by every beam of state which shineth from their competitor. Wherefore the best way to keep great princes together is to keep them asunder, accommodating their business by ambassadors, lest the meeting of their own persons part their affections.

CHAP. VII.—*King Richard conquereth Sicily and Cyprus, in his Passage to the Holy Land.*

AT Lyons these two kings parted their trains, and went several ways into Sicily. King Richard in his passage though within fifteen miles of Rome, wanting (forsooth) either devotion or manners, vouchsafed not to give his holiness a visit; yea, plainly told Octavian, bishop of Ostia, the pope's confessor, that, having better objects to bestow his eyes on, he would not stir a step to see the pope; because lately, without mercy, he had simonically extorted a mass of money from the prelates of England.¹ At Messina, in Sicily, these two kings meet again; where to complete King Richard's joy, behold his navy there safely arriving, which, with much difficulty and danger, had fetched a compass about Spain.

And now King Richard, by his own experience, grew sensible of the miseries which merchants and mariners at sea underwent, being always within a few inches, often within a hair's breadth, of death. Wherefore, now touched with remorse of their pitiful case, he resolved to revoke the law of wrecks, as a law so just that it was even unjust. For formerly, both in England and Normandy, the crown was entitled to shipwrecked goods, and the king, *jure gentium* made heir unto them²; which otherwise, *jure naturalis* were conceived to be *in bonis nullius*, pertaining to no owner. But now our Richard refused to make advantage of such pitiful accidents, and to strip poor mariners out of those rags of their estates which the mercy and modesty of the waves and winds had left them. And therefore, in the month of October, at Messina, in the presence of many archbishops and bishops, he for ever quitted the claim to wrecks³: so that if any man out of the ship cometh alive to the shore, the property of the shipwrecked goods is still preserved to the owner. Yea, this grant was so enlarged by

¹ Hoveden, in Rich. I. p. 668, and Matth. Paris, in eodem p. 213.

² Bracton, lib. 2, cap. 5.

³ *Quietum clamavit, Wreck, &c.*—Roger Hoveden, in Rich. ardo I. p. 678.

ur succeeding kings, that if a dog or a cat escaped alive to and, the goods still remained the owner's, if he claimed them within a year and a day⁴.

Tancred at this time was king of Sicily; a bastard born: and no wonder, if climbing up to the throne the wrong way, he shook when he sat down. Besides, he was a tyrant; both detaining the dowry and imprisoning the person of Joan, wife to William, late king of Sicily, and sister to King Richard. But in what a case was he now, having two such mighty monarchs come unto him. To keep them out was above his power, to let them in against his will. Well he knew it was woful to lie in the road where great armies were to pass; for power knoweth no inferior friend, and the landlord commonly loseth his rent, sometimes his land, where the tenant is too potent for him.

At last he resolved (how wisely or honestly let others judge) openly to poise himself indifferent betwixt these two kings, secretly applying himself to the French; which King Richard quickly discovered, as dissembling goeth not along invisible before a judicious eye.

Meantime the citizens of Messina did the English much wrong, if not by the command, with the consent of the king. For though it be unjust to father the base actions of unruly people on their prince; yet Tancred not punishing his people for injuring the English, when he might and was required thereunto, did in effect justify their insolencies, and adopt their deeds to be his. Wherefore King Richard, to avenge himself, took Messina by assault, seized on most forts in the island, demanding satisfaction for all wrongs done to him and his sister. Tancred, though dull at first, now pricked with the sword, came off roundly with many thousand ounces of gold; and seeing, as the case stood, his best thrift was to be prodigal, gave to our king what rich conditions soever he demanded.

Worse discords daily increased betwixt the kings of France and England; King Richard, slighting the king of France's sister, whom he had promised to marry, and expressing more affection to Beringaria, daughter to the king of Navarre. Some princes interposing themselves in this breach, rather assuaged the pain than removed the malady: so dangerous are ruptures betwixt great ones, whose affections, perchance, by the mediation of friends may be brought again to meet, but never to unite and incorporate. King

⁴ Sir Edward Coke, vol. vi. p. 107.

Philip, thinking to forestall the market of honour, and take up all for himself, hasted presently to Ptolemais: Richard followed at his leisure, and took Cyprus in his way. Isaac (or Cursac) reigned then in Cyprus; who, under Andronicus, the Grecian emperor (when every factious nobleman snatched a plank out of that shipwrecked empire), seized on this island, and there tyrannized as a reputed king. Some falsely conceived him a pagan: and his faith is suspected, because his charity was so bad; killing the English that landed there, not having so much man as to pity a woman, and to suffer the seasick Lady Beringaria to come on shore. But King Richard speedily overran the island, honoured Isaac with the magnificent captivity of silver fetters; yet giving his daughter liberty and princely usage. The island he pawned to the Templars for ready money. And because Cyprus, by antiquity, was celebrated as the seat of Venus, that so it might prove to him, in the joyous month of May he solemnly took to wife his beloved Lady Beringaria.

CHAP. VIII.—*The Taking of the City Ptolemais.*

WHILST King Richard stayed in Cyprus, the siege of Ptolemais went on [1191]: and though the French king thought with a running pull to bear the city away, yet he found it staked down too fast for all his strength to stir.

Meantime, the plague and famine raged in the Christians' camp; which the last year swept away fifty princes and prelates of note: who, no doubt, went hence to a happy place; though it was before Pope Clement VI. commanded the angels (who durst not but obey him) presently to convey all their souls into paradise which should die in their pilgrimage¹.

This mortality notwithstanding, the siege still continued. And now the Christians and Turks, like two fencers long playing together, were so well acquainted with the blows and guards each of other, that what advantage was taken betwixt them was merely casual, never for want of skill, care, or valour on either side. It helped the Christians not a little, that a concealed Christian within the city, with letters unsubscribed with any name, gave them constant and

¹ Chemnitius, ex Weselo, Exam. Conc. Trid. tract. De Indulg.

faithful intelligence of the remarkable passages amongst the Turks.

No prince in this siege deserved more than Leopold, duke of Austria, who fought so long in assaulting this city, till his armour was all over gore blood, save the place covered with his belt. Whereupon he and his successors, the dukes of Austria, renouncing the six golden larks, their ancient arms, had assigned them by the emperor a fesse argent in a field gules, as the paternal coat of their family².

By this time King Richard was arrived [June 8] (taking as he came a dromond, or Saracen ship, wherein were fifteen hundred soldiers, and two hundred and fifty scorpions³, which were to be employed in the poisoning of Christians), and now the siege of Ptolemais more fiercely prosecuted. But all their engines made not so wide a breach in that city walls, as envy made betwixt the French and English kings. Yet at last the Turks, despairing of succour, their victuals wholly spent, yielded up the city by Saladin's consent, on condition to be themselves safely guarded out of it [July 13]: all Christian prisoners Saladin had were to be set free, and the cross to be again restored.

The houses which were left, with the spoil and prisoners, were equally divided betwixt Philip and Richard. Whereat many noblemen, partners in the pains, no sharers in the gains, departed in discontent⁴. Some Turks, for fear, embraced the Christian faith, but quickly returned to their vomit⁵; as religion dyed in fear never long keepeth colour, but this day's converts will be to-morrow's apostates. Hereupon it was commanded that none hereafter should be baptized against their wills.

Here the English cast down the ensigns of Leopold, duke of Austria, which he had advanced in a principal tower in Ptolemais; and, as some say, threw them into the jakes. The duke, though angry at heart, forgot this injury till he could remember it with advantage; and afterwards made King Richard pay soundly for this affront. It is not good to exasperate any, though far inferior: for, as the fable telleth us, the beetle may annoy the eagle, and the mouse befriend the lion.

When the city was taken, it grieved the Christians not a

² Pantal. De illustribus Germaniæ, part 2, p. 201.

³ Matth. Paris, in anno 1191.

⁴ Roger Hoveden, in Richardo I. p. 696.

⁵ Fox, Martyrol. p. 245.

little that their faithful correspondent ⁶, who advised them by his letters, could no where be found: pity it was that Rahab's red lace was not tied at his window. But indeed it was probable that he was dead before the surrendering of the city. Greater was the grief that the cross did no where appear, either carelessly lost, or enviously concealed by the Turks. Whilst the Christians stormed hereat, Saladin required a longer respite for the performance of the conditions. But King Richard would not enlarge him from the strictness of what was concluded; conceiving that was in effect to forfeit the victory back again. Besides, he knew he did it only to gain time to fetch new breath; and if he yielded to him, his bounty had not been thanked, but his fear upbraided, as if he durst not deny him. Yea, in anger King Richard commanded all the Turkish captives which were in his hands, seven thousand in number, to be put to death (except some choice persons) on that day whereon the articles should have been, but were not performed ⁷. For which fact he suffered much in his repute, branded with rashness and cruelty, as the murderer of many Christians: for Saladin, in revenge, put as many of our captives to death. On the other side, the moderation of the French king was much commended, who, reserving his prisoners alive, exchanged them to ransom so many Christians.

CHAP. IX.—*The unseasonable Return of the King of France.*

MEANTIME the Christians were rent asunder with faction: Philip the French king, Odo duke of Burgundy, Leopold duke of Austria, most of the Dutch, all the Genoans and Templars siding with King Conrad; King Richard, Henry count of Champagne, the Hospitallers, Venetians, and Pisans taking part with King Guy. But King Conrad's side was much weakened with the sudden departure of the French king; who, eighteen days after the taking of Ptolemais, returned home [July 31], pretending want of necessaries, indisposition of body, distemper of the climate, though the greatest distemper was in his own passions. The true cause of his departure was, partly envy, because the sound of King Richard's fame was of so deep a note that it drowned his; partly covetousness, to seize on

⁶ Hoveden, in Rich. I. p. 694.

⁷ P. Æmilius, in Philippo Augusto, p. 174. But Matthew Paris saith but two thousand six hundred.

the dominions of the earl of Flanders lately dead¹; Flanders lying fitly to make a stable for the fair palace of France. If it be true, what some report², that Saladin bribed him to return, let him for ever forfeit the surname of Augustus, and the style of The most Christian Prince.

His own soldiers dissuaded him from returning, beseeching him not to stop in so glorious a race, wherein he was newly started: Saladin was already on his knees, and would probably be brought on his face, if pursued. If he played the unthrift with this golden occasion, let him not hope for another to play the good husband with. If poverty forced his departure, King Richard proffered him the half of all his provisions³.

All would not do; Philip persisted in his old plea, how the life of him absent would be more advantageous to the cause, than the death of him present; and by importunity got leave to depart, solemnly swearing not to molest the king of England's dominions.

Thus the king of France returned in person, but remained still behind in his instructions, which he left (with his army) to the duke of Burgundy; to whom he prescribed both his path and his pace, where and how he should go. And that duke moved slowly, having no desire to advance the work where King Richard would carry all the honour. For in those actions wherein several undertakers are compounded together, commonly the first figure for matter of credit maketh ciphers of all the rest. As for King Philip, being returned home, such was the itch of his ambition, he must be fingering of the king of England's territories, though his hands were bound by oath to the contrary.

CHAP. X.—*Conrad King of Jerusalem slain. Guy exchanges his Kingdom for the Island of Cyprus.*

ABOUT the time of the king of France's departure, Conrad king of Jerusalem was murdered in the market-place of Tyre⁴ [April 27]; and his death is variously reported. Some charged our King Richard for procuring it: and though the beams of his innocency cleared his own heart, yet could they not dispel the clouds of suspicions

¹ Matthew Paris, p. 220.

² Speed, out of Hoveden, in Richard I.

³ Matthew Paris, in Richardo I. p. 219.

⁴ Roger Hoveden, in Richardo I. p. 716, saith on the calends of May; but Sabellicus putteth it sooner.

from other men's eyes. Some say Humphred prince of Thorone killed him, for taking Isabella his wife away from him. But the general voice giveth it out that two assassins stabbed him; whose quarrel to him was only this, that he was a Christian. These murderers being instantly put to death, gloried in the meritoriousness of their suffering²: and surely were it the punishment, not the cause, made martyrdom, we should be best stored with confessors from gaols, and martyrs from the gallows.

Conrad reigned five years, and left one daughter, Maria Iole, on whom the Knights-templars bestowed princely education. And this may serve for his epitaph:—

The crown I never did enjoy alone;
Of half a kingdom I was half a king.
Scarce was I on, when I was off the throne;
Slain by two slaves me basely murdering.
And thus the best man's life at mercy lies
Of vilest varlets, that their own despise.

His faction survived after his death, affronting Guy the ancient king, and striving to depose him. They pleaded that the crown was tied on Guy's head with a woman's fillet, which being broken by the death of his wife, Queen Sibyll (who deceased of the plague, with her children, at the siege of Ptolemais³), he had no longer right to the kingdom; they objected he was a worthless man, and unfortunate. On the other side, it was alleged for him, that to measure a man's worth by his success, is a square often false, always uncertain. Besides, the courtesy of the world would allow him this favour, that a king should be *semel et semper*, once and ever.

Whilst Guy stood on these ticklish terms, King Richard made a seasonable motion, which well relished to the palate of this hungry prince. To exchange his kingdom of Jerusalem for the island of Cyprus; which he had redeemed from the Templars, to whom he had pawned it: and this was done accordingly, to the content of both sides [Sept. 1192⁴]. And King Richard, with some of his succeeding English kings, wore the title of Jerusalem in their style for.

² Emilius, in Phil. Augusto, p. 179.

³ Roger Hoveden, in Richardo I. p. 685.

⁴ Calvisius.

many years after⁵. We then dismiss King Guy, hearing him thus taking his farewell :—

I steer'd a state, war-toss'd, against my will ;
Blame then the storm, not the pilot's want of skill,
That I the kingdom lost, whose empty style
I sold to England's king for Cyprus' isle.
I pass'd away the land I could not hold ;
Good ground I bought, but only air I sold.
Then as a happy merchant may I sing,
Though I must sigh as an unhappy king.

Soon after, Guy made a second change of this world for another. But the family of the Lusignans have enjoyed Cyprus some hundred years : and since, by some transactions, is fell to the state of Venice ; and lately, by conquest, to the Turks.

CHAP. XI.—*Henry of Champagne chosen King. The noble Achievements and Victories of King Richard.*

CONRAD being killed, and Guy gone away, Henry earl of Champagne was chosen king of Jerusalem, by the especial procuring of King Richard his uncle. To corroborate his election by some right of succession, he married Isabella, the widow of King Conrad and daughter to Almerick king of Jerusalem. A prince (as writers report) having a sufficient stock of valour in himself, but little happy in expressing it ; whether for want of opportunity, or shortness of his reign, being most spent in a truce. He more pleased himself in the style of prince of Tyre than king of Jerusalem ; as counting it more honour to be prince of what he had, than king of what he had not.

And now the Christians began every where to build : the Templars fortified Gaza ; King Richard repaired and walled Ptolemais, Porphyria, Joppa, and Askelon. But, alas ! this short prosperity, like an autumn-spring, came too late, and was gone too soon, to bring any fruit to maturity.

It was now determined they should march towards Jerusalem ; for all this while they had but hit the butt ; that holy city was the mark they shot at. Richard led the vanguard of English ; Duke Odo commanded in the main battle over his French ; James of Auvergne brought on the

⁵ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 5, p. 378.

Flemings and Brabanters in the rear. Saladin, serpent-like biting the heel, assaulted the rear, not far from Bethlehem; when the French and English wheeling about, charged the Turks most furiously. Emulation, formerly poison, was here a cordial, each Christian nation striving not only to conquer their enemies, but to overcome their friends in the honour of the conquest. King Richard, seeking to put his courage out of doubt, brought his judgment into question, being more prodigal of his person than beseemed a general. One wound he received¹, but by losing his blood he found his spirits, and laid about him like a madman. The Christians got the victory, without the loss of any of number or note, save James of Auvergne, who here died in the bed of honour; but more of the Turks were slain than in any battle for forty years before.

Had the Christians presently gone to Jerusalem, probably they might have surprised it, whilst the Turks' eyes were muffled and blindfolded in the amazement of this great overthrow. But this opportunity was lost by the backwardness and unwillingness of King Richard and the English, say the French writers². To cry quits with them, our English authors impute it to the envy of the French³; who would have so glorious an action rather left undone, than done by the English. They complain likewise of the treachery of Odo duke of Burgundy, who, more careful of his credit than his conscience, was choked with the shame of the sin he had swallowed, and died for grief, when his intelligence with the Turks was made known. This cannot be denied, that Saladin sent (term them bribes or presents) both to our king and the French duke, and they received them: no wonder then if neither of them herein had a good name, when they traded with such familiars. But most hold King Richard attempted not Jerusalem, because, as a wise architect, he would build his victories so as they might stand, securing the country as he went; it being senseless to besiege Jerusalem, a straggling city, whilst the Turks as yet were in possession of all the seaports and strong forts thereabout.

About this time he intercepted many camels loaded with rich commodity, those eastern wares containing much in a little. And yet of all this, and of all the treasures of

¹ P. Æmil. in Phil. Augusto, p. 180.

² P. Æmil. *ibidem*.

³ Matth. Paris, in Richardo I. p. 216.

England, Sicily, and Cyprus, which he brought hither, King Richard carried home nothing but one gold ring⁴; all the rest of his wealth melted away in this hot service. He wintered in Askelon, intending next spring to have at Jerusalem.

CHAP. XII.—*The little honourable Peace King Richard made with Saladin. Of the Value of Relics.*

BUT bad news out of Europe shook his steadiest resolutions, hearing how William bishop of Ely, his viceroy in England, used unsufferable insolencies over his subjects; so hard it is for one of base parentage to personate a king without overacting his part. Also he heard how the king of France, and John earl of Morton his own brother, invaded his dominions; ambition, the pope in their belly, dispensing with their oath to the contrary. Besides, he saw this war was not a subject capable of valour to any purpose; the Venetians, Genoans, Pisans, and Florentines being gone away with their fleets, wisely shrinking themselves out of the collar, when they found their necks wrung with the hard employment. Hereupon he was forced first to make the motion of (in plain terms, to beg) peace of Saladin.

Let Saladin now alone to win, having all the game in his own hand. Well knew he how to shoot at his own ends, and to take aim by the exigencies wherein he knew King Richard was plunged. For he had those cunning gipsies about him, who could read in King Richard's face what grieved his heart; and by his intelligencers was certified of every note-worthy passage in the English army. Upon these terms therefore or none (beggars of peace shall never be choosers of their conditions) a truce for three (some say five) years might be concluded, that the Christians should demolish all places they had walled since the taking of Ptolemais; which was in effect to undo what with much charge they had done. But such was the tyranny of King Richard's occasions, forcing him to return, that he was glad to embrace those conditions he hated at his heart.

Thus the voyage of these two kings, begun with as great confidence of the undertakers as expectation of the beholders, continued with as much courage as interchangeableness of success, baned with mutual discord and emulation, was

⁴ P. Æmil. p. 181.—*Excepto hoc annulo nudus inopsque.*

ended with some honour to the undertakers, no profit either to them or the Christian cause¹. Some far-fetched dear-bought honour they got; especially King Richard, who eternized his memory in Asia; whom if men forget, horses will remember; the Turks using to say to their horses when they started for fear, Dost thou think King Richard is here? Profit they got none, losing both of them the hair of their heads in an acute disease; which was more, saith one², than both of them got by the voyage.

They left the Christians in Syria, in worse case than they found them; as he doth the benighted traveller a discourtesy rather than a kindness, who lendeth a lantern to take it away, leaving him more masked than he was before.

And now a little to solace myself and the reader with a merry digression, after much sorrow and sad stories. King Richard did one thing in Palestine which was worth all the cost and pains of his journey; namely, he redeemed from the Turks a chest full of holy relics (which they had gotten at the taking of Jerusalem), so great, as four men could scarce carry any way³. And though some know no more than Æsop's cock how to prize these pearls, let them learn the true value of them from the Roman jewellers. First, they must carefully distinguish between public and private relics: in private ones some forgery may be suspected, lest *quid* be put for *quo*; which made St. Augustine put in that wary parenthesis, *Si tamen martyrum*, If so be they be the relics of martyrs⁴. But as for public ones approved by the pope, and kept in churches (such no doubt as these of King Richard's were) oh let no Christian be such an infidel as to stagger at the truth thereof! If any object, that the head of the same saint is showed at several places; the whole answer is by a synecdoche, that a part is put for the whole⁵. As for the common exception against the cross, that so many several pieces thereof are shown, which put together would break the back of Simon of Cyrene to bear them, it is answered, *Distrahitur, non diminuitur*, and, like the loaves in the gospel, it is miraculously multiplied in the dividing. If all these fail, Baronius hath a razor shaveth all scruple clear away; for, saith he⁶, *Quicquid sit, fides purgat facinus*; so that he worshipeth the false

¹ P. Æmil. p. 181.—Tanto duorum regum conatu nihil actum.

² Daniel, p. 100. ³ Matth. Paris, in Rich. I. p. 222.

⁴ In lib. De Oper. Mon. cap. 28.

⁵ Bellarm. De Reliq. cap. 4. ⁶ Annal. Eccl. in anno 226.

elics of a true saint, God taketh his good intention in good worth, though he adore the hand of Esau for the hand of Jacob. But enough of these fooleries.

CHAP. XIII.—*King Richard taken Prisoner in Austria; sold, and sent to the Emperor; dearly ransomed, returneth home.*

KING Richard setting sail from Syria, the sea and wind favoured him till he came into the Adriatic [Oct. 8]; and on the coasts of Istria he suffered shipwreck; wherefore he intended to pierce through Germany by land, the nearest way home. But the nearness of the way is to be measured not by the shortness but the safeness of it.

He disguised himself to be one Hugo a merchant, whose only commodity was himself, whereof he made but a bad bargain. For he was discovered in an inn in Austria, because he disguised his person, not his expenses; so that the very policy of an hostess, finding his purse so far above his clothes, did detect him [Dec. 20]; yea, saith mine author, *Facies orbi terrarum nota, ignorari non potuit*. The rude people, flocking together, used him with insolencies unworthy him, worthy themselves; and they who would shake at the tail of this loose lion, durst laugh at his face now they saw him in a grate; yet all the weight of their cruelty did not bow him beneath a princely carriage.

Leopold duke of Austria hearing hereof, as being lord of the soil, seized on this royal stray [Dec 20]; meaning now to get his pennyworths out of him, for the affront done into him in Palestine.

Not long after the duke sold him to Henry the emperor, for his harsh nature surnamed *Asper*, and it might have been *Sævus*, being but one degree from a tyrant. He kept King Richard in bands, charging him with a thousand faults committed by him in Sicily, Cyprus, and Palestine. The proofs were as slender as the crimes gross, and Richard having an eloquent tongue, innocent heart, and bold spirit, acquitted himself in the judgment of all the hearers. At last he was ransomed for a hundred and forty thousand marks, collen weight¹. A sum so vast in that age, before the Indies had overflowed all Europe with their gold and silver, that to raise it in England they were forced to sell their church plate, to their very chalices. Whereupon out of most deep divinity it was concluded, that they should

¹ Matth. Paris, in Rich. I.

not celebrate the sacrament in glass², for the brittleness of it; nor in wood, for the sponginess of it, which would suck up the blood; nor in alchymy, because it was subject to rusting; nor in copper, because that would provoke vomiting; but in chalices of latten, which belike was a metal without exception. And such were used in England for some hundred years after³, until at last John Stafford archbishop of Canterbury, when the land was more replenished with silver, inknotteth that priest in the greater excommunication that should consecrate *poculum stanneum*. After this money Peter of Blois⁴ (who had drunk as deep of Helicon as any of that age) sendeth this good prayer, making an apostrophe to the emperor, or to the duke of Austria, or to both together:—

*Bibe nunc, avaritia,
Dum puteos argenteos,
Larga diffundit Anglia.
Tua tecum pecunia,
Sit in perditionem.*

And now, thou basest avarice,
Drink till thy belly burst,
Whilst England pours large silver showers,
To satiate thy thirst.
And this we pray, thy money may
And thou be like accurst.

The ransom partly paid, the rest secured by hostages, King Richard much befriended by the Dutch prelacy, after eighteen months' imprisonment, returned into England. The archbishop of Cullen, in the presence of King Richard, as he passed by, brought in these words in saying mass, "Now I know that God hath sent his angel, and hath delivered thee out of the hand of Herod, and from the expectation of the people," &c. But his soul was more healthful for this bitter physic, and he amended his manners, better loving his queen Beringaria⁵, whom he slighted before; as soldiers too often love women better than wives.

Leave we him now in England, where his presence fixed the loyalty of many of his unsettled subjects, whilst in Austria the duke with his money built the walls of Vienna; so that the best stones and mortar of that bulwark of

² Lindwood, lib. 1, De summa Tri. p. 6.

³ Eulogium; a Chronicle cited by Fox, Martyrol. in Rich. I.

⁴ Epist. 57.

⁵ Speed, in Rich. I.

Christendom are beholden to the English coin. We must not forget how God's judgments overtook this duke, punishing his dominions with fire and water, which two elements cannot be kings, but they must be tyrants; by famine, the ears of wheat turned into worms; by a gangrene, seizing on the duke's body, who cut off his leg with his own hand, and died thereof; who by his testament (if not by his will) caused some thousand crowns to be restored again to King Richard.

HAP. XIV.—*The Death of Saladin. His Commendation, even with Truth, but almost above Belief.*

SOON after, Saladin, the terror of the east, ended his life [Feb. 16, 1193], having reigned sixteen years. Consider him as a man, or a prince, he was both ways admirable.

Many historians (like some painters, which rather show their skill in drawing a curious face, than in making it like to him whom it should resemble), describe princes rather what they should be, than what they were; not showing so much their goodness as their own wits. But finding this Saladin so generally commended of all writers, we have no cause to distrust this his true character.

His wisdom was great, in that he was able to advise; and greater, in that he was willing to be advised; never so wedded to his own resolves, but on good ground he could be divorced from them. His valour was not over-see, but would well answer the spur when need required. In his victories he was much beholden to the advantage of season, place, and number; and seldom wrested the garland of honour from an arm as strong as his own. He ever marched in person into the field, remembering that his predecessors, the caliphs of Egypt, brake themselves by sing factors, and employing of souldans. His temperance was great, diet sparing, sleep moderate, not to pamper nature, but keep it in repair. His greatest recreation was variety and exchange of work. Pleasures he rather sipped than drank off; sometimes, more to content others than please himself. Wives he might have kept sans number, but stinted himself to one or two; using them rather for posterity than wantonness. His justice to his own people was remarkable, his promise with his enemies generally well kept. Much he did triumph in mercy; fierce in fighting, mild in conquering; and having his enemies in his hand, pleased himself more in the power than act of revenge.

His liberality would have drained his treasure, had it not had a great and quick spring, those eastern parts being very rich. Serviceable men he would purchase on any rate; and sometimes his gifts bore better proportion to his own greatness than the receiver's deserts. Vast bribes he would give to have places betrayed unto him, and often effected that with his gold, which he could not do with his steel. Zealous he was in his own religion, yet not violent against Christians *quà* Christians. Scholarship cannot be expected in him who was a Turk by his birth (amongst whom it is a sin to be learned) and a soldier by breeding. His humility was admirable; as being neither ignorant of his greatness, nor over-knowing it. He provided to have no solemnities at his funeral; and ordered that before his corpse a black cloth should be carried on the top of a spear, and this proclaimed *Saladin, conqueror of the East, had nothing left him but this black shirt to attend him to the grave*¹.

Some entitle him as descended from the royal Turkish blood; which flattering heralds he will little thank for their pains; counting it most honour, that he, being of mean parentage, was the first founder of his own nobility. His stature (for one of that nation) was tall. His person rather cut out to strike fear than win love; yet could he put on amiableness when occasion required, and make it beseem him. To conclude: I will not be so bold, to do with him as an eastern bishop² doth with Plato and Plutarch, whom he commendeth in a Greek hymn to Christ, as those that came nearest to holiness of all untaught Gentiles: (belike he would be our Saviour's remembrancer, and put him in mind to take more especial notice of them at the day of judgment. But I will take my farewell of Saladin with that commendation I find of him:—He wanted nothing to his eternal happiness, but the knowledge of Christ³.

CHAP. XV.—*Discords amongst the Turks. The miserable Death of Henry King of Jerusalem.*

SALADIN left nine (some say twelve) sons [1194] making Saphradin his brother overseer of his will who of a tutor turned a traitor, and murdered them all excepting one, called also Saphradin, sultan of Aleppo; who not by his uncle's pity, but by the favour and support of his

¹ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 5, p. 378.

² Joan. Euchaitensis, jampridem Etoniæ Græcè editus.

³ Sabell. Enn. 9, lib. 5, p. 378.

ther's good friends, was preserved. Hence arose much testine discord amongst the Turks; all which time the Christians enjoyed their truce with much quiet and security.

1196] Not long after, Henry king of Jerusalem, as he was walking in his palace to solace himself, fell down out of a window, and brake his neck¹. He reigned three years. But as for the particular time he died on, I find it not specified in any author.

HAB. XVI.—*Almerick the Second, King of Jerusalem. The great Army of the Dutch Adventurers doth little in Syria.*

AFTER his death Almerick Lusignan, brother to King Guy, was in the right of his wife crowned king of Jerusalem: for he married Isabella, the relict of Henry the last king. This lady was four times married: first to Humphred prince of Thorone; then to the three successive kings of Jerusalem, Conrad, Henry, and this Almerick. He was also king of Cyprus; and the Christians in Syria promised themselves much aid from the vicinity of that island. But though he was near to them, he was far from helping them, making pleasure all his work; being an idle, lazy, worthless, prince. But I trespass on that politic rule, of princes we must speak the best, or the least; if that be not intended, when the truth is so late that danger is enailed upon it.

In his time, Henry emperor of Germany, indicted by his conscience for his cruelty against King Richard, seeking to perfume his name in the nostrils of the world, which began to be unsavoury, set on foot another voyage to the Holy Land [1197]. Pope Celestine III. sent his legates about to promote this service, showing how God himself had sounded the alarm by the dissension of the Turks: Jerusalem now might be won with the blows of her enemies; only an army must be sent, not so much to conquer as to receive it. General of the pilgrims was Henry duke of Saxony; next him, Frederick duke of Austria, Herman landgrave of Thuringia, Henry palatine of Rhine, Conrad archbishop of Mentz, Conrad archbishop of Wurtzburg, the bishops of Breme, Halberstadt, and Regensburg, with many more prelates; so that here was an episcopal army, which might have served for a national synod: insomuch that one truly might here have seen the church militant. We have no

¹ Continuator Urs. in anno 1196. Et M. Paris, in eodem.

ambition, saith one of their countrymen¹, to reckon them up; for they were *plurimi et nulli*, many in number, none in their actions.

Some of these soldiers were employed by Henry the emperor (who knew well to bake his cake with the church's fuel) to subdue his rebels in Apulia. This done, they passed through Greece, and found there better entertainment than some of their predecessors. Hence by shipping they were conveyed into Syria: here they brake the truce made by King Richard² (it seemeth by this, it was the last five years), the pope dispensing therewith; who can make peace nets to hold others, but a cobweb for himself to break through. The city Berytus they quickly won, and as quickly lost. For Henry the emperor suddenly died, the root which nourished this voyage, and then the branches withered. Henry also, duke of Saxony, general of this army, was slain. And Conrad archbishop of Mentz, one of the electors, would needs return home to the choice of a new emperor; knowing he could more profitably use his voice in Germany than his arms in Syria. Other captains secretly stole home; and when their soldiers would have fought, their captains ran away³. And whereas in other expeditions we find *vestigia pauca retrorsum*, making such clean work that they left little or no reversions; of this voyage many safely returned home with whole bodies and wounded credits.

The rest that remained fortified themselves in Joppa, and now the feast of St. Martin was come, the Dutch their arch-saint. This man being a German by birth, and bishop of Tours in France, was eminent for his hospitality⁴; and the Dutch, badly imitating their countryman, turn his charity to the poor into riot on themselves, keeping the eleventh of November (I will not say holy-day, but) feast-day. At this time the springtide of their mirth so drowned their souls, that the Turks coming in upon them cut every one of their throats, to the number of twenty thousand⁵; and quickly they were stabbed with the sword that were cup-shot before. A day which the Dutch may well write in their calendars in red letters dyed with their own blood: when their camp was their shambles, the Turks their

¹ Ursp. Chron. in anno 1197, p. 304.

² Ursp. ut priùs.

³ Baron. Annal. Eccl. in anno 1197.

⁴ Pantal. De Vir. illustr. Germ. in Vita S. Martini.

⁵ Knolles, Turk. Hist. p. 74.

utchers, and themselves the Martinmas beeves : from which the beastly drunkards differ but a little.

The city of Joppa the Turks razed to the ground ; and of his victory they became so proud, that they had thought, without stop, to have driven the Christians quite out of Syria. But by the coming of Simon count of Montford ⁶ [1198] (a most valiant and expert captain, sent thither by Philip the French king with a regiment of tall soldiers, at the instance of Innocent III., that succeeded Celestine in the papacy), and by civil discord then reigning amongst the Turks themselves for sovereignty, their fury was repressed, and a peace betwixt them and the Christians concluded for the space of ten years⁷ : during which time the Turks promised not to molest the Christians in Tyre or Ptolemais. Which peace so concluded, the worthy count returned with his soldiers into France [1199].

CHAP. XVII.—*A Crusado for the Holy Land diverted by the Pope to Constantinople. They conquer the Grecian Empire.*

THIS truce notwithstanding, another army of pilgrims was presently provided for Syria ; the tetrarchs whereof were Baldwin earl of Flanders, Dandolo the Venetian duke, Theobald earl of Champagne, Boniface marquess of Monterrat, with many other nobles.

Leave we them awhile, taking the city of Jadera in Istria for the Venetians. Meantime, if we look over into Greece, we shall find Isaac Angelus the emperor deposed, thrust into prison, his eyes put out (the punishment there in fashion), so that he ended his days before he ended his life, by the cruelty of Alexius Angelus, his brother, who succeeded him.

But young Alexius, Isaac Angelus's son, with some Grecian noblemen, came to the courts of most western princes, to beg assistance to free his father and expel the tyrant. He so deported himself, that each gesture was a net to catch men's good will ; not seeking their favour by losing himself, but though he did bow, he would not kneel : so that in his face one might read a pretty combat betwixt the beams of majesty and cloud of adversity. To see a prince in want would move a miser's charity. Our western

⁶ Magdeburgenses, Cent. 12, cap. 16, sub finem.

⁷ Knolles, ut prius.

princes: tendered his case, which they counted might be their own; their best right lying at the mercy of any stronger usurper. Young Alexius so dressed his meat, that he pleased every man's palate; promising for their succours to disengage the French from their debts to the Venetian; promising the Venetian satisfaction for the wrongs done them by the Grecians; and bearing the pope in hand he would reduce the eastern churches into his subjection: things which he was little able to perform¹. But well may the statute of bankrupt be sued out against him who cannot be rich in promises. These his fair proffers prevailed so far, that the pope commanded, and other princes consented, that this army of pilgrims, levied for the Holy Land, should be employed against the usurping Grecian emperor. Many taxed his holiness for an unjust steward of the Christian forces, to expend them against the Grecians, which were to be laid out against the infidels: especially now, when Palestine, through the dissension of the Turks, offered itself into the Christians' arms to be regained. Others thought the pope took the right method; because he who should win Jerusalem must begin at Constantinople; and by this war the Grecian empire, which was the bridge to Syria, would be made good, and secured for the passage of pilgrims. The soldiers generally rejoiced at the exchange of their service; for the barren wars in Syria starved the undertakers; and a cook himself cannot lick his fingers where no meat is dressed. There nothing but naked honour was to be gotten, here honour clothed with spoil; the usurper's treasure would make brave scrambling amongst them; and it was good ploughing up of that ground which had long lain fallow.

Setting sail from Jadera (which city they had subdued to the Venetian, forcing them to pay three thousand cony-skins yearly for tribute to that state²), like good fencers, they struck at the head, and made for Constantinople; which they quickly took, after some hot skirmishes [July 17, 1203]. Alexius Angelus the usurper, with his wife, whores, and treasure, fled away. Blind Isaac Angelus was fetched out of prison; he and young Alexius his son saluted joint emperors. Which brittle honour of theirs was quickly broken; for soon after the father died, being brought into an open place, kept before in a close pent dungeon; and having long fasted from good air, he now got his death by

¹ Nicetas.

² Blondus, lib. 6, decad. 2, p. 270.

surfeiting on it. His son was villanously strangled by Alexius Ducas, called, from his beetle brow, Mursiphlus; one of base parentage, who was tumultuously chosen emperor by the people. This Ducas offered some affronts to the Latins which lay before Constantinople in their ships. Wherefore, and also because they were not paid for their former service, they the second time assaulted the city, and took it by main force [April 21, 1204]; killing none, but robbing all; ravishing women, and using a thousand insolencies. Some fled for their succour to the shrines of saints: but the sanctuaries needed sanctuaries to protect themselves, the soldiers as little respecting place, as formerly age or sex; not standing on any reverence to the saints, they stood upon them, making footstools of their images and statues.

Nicetas Choniates, hitherto an historian, now a plaintiff (writing so full of ohs and exclamations as if the while pinched by the arm), rather without measure than cause, bemoaneth the outrages the Latins here committed. Poor man! all the miseries our Saviour speaketh of in a siege, met in him: his flight from Constantinople was in the winter, on the Sabbath-day, his wife being great with child³. But when the object is too near the eye, it seemeth greater than it is; and perchance he amplifieth and aggravateth the cruelty of these pilgrims, being nearly interested therein himself, especially when the rhetoric of grief is always in the hyperbole. Nor is it any news for soldiers to be so insolent when they take a city by assault; which time is their Saturnalia⁴, when servants themselves do command, acknowledging no other leader or captain than their own passions.

Within a twelvemonth all Greece was subdued, save only Adrianople: Baldwin earl of Flanders chosen emperor [April 24; crowned May 16]; Thomas Maurocenus elected first Latin patriarch in Constantinople; Boniface marquess of Montferrat made king of Thessaly; Geoffrey of Troy, a Frenchman, prince of Achaia and duke of Athens: the Venetians got many rich islands in the Egean and Ionian seas; so that one could not now see the Grecian empire for empires. It was now expected that they should have advanced hence into Palestine: but here, having well feathered their nests, they were loath to fly any further.

³ In libello cui titulus, Status Constantinopolis, § 1, p. 637.

⁴ Servorum hic dies est. Lips. lib. 1. Satur. cap. 2.

And now no wonder if the Christians' affairs in Palestine were weak and lean, the pope diverting the meat that should feed them another way.

CHAP. XVIII.—*The Pope sendeth an Army of Croises against the Albigenses. Three several Opinions concerning that Sect.*

POPE Innocent III., having lately learned the trick of employing the army of pilgrims in by-services, began now to set up a trade thereof [1206]. For two years after he levied a great number of them, whom he sent against the Albigenses in France. These were reputed heretics, whom his holiness intended to root out with all cruelty; that good shepherd knowing no other way to bring home a wandering sheep than by worrying him to death. He fully and freely promised the undertakers the selfsame pardons and indulgences as he did to those who went to conquer the Holy Land; and very conscionably requested their aid only for forty days, hoping to chop up these Albigenses at a bit. Though herein he was deceived, and they stuck in his and his successors' teeth for fifty years together. The place being nearer, the service shorter, the work less, the wages the same with the voyage into Syria, many entered themselves in this employment, and neglected the other.

We will trace this army by their footsteps, and our pen must wait on their swords. And I hope that his holiness, who absolved many of their vows from Palestine, and commuted them into a journey into France, will also of his goodness dispense with my venial digression herein, in prosecuting their actions. Yea, indeed, I need not his dispensation, being still resident on my own subject, this also being styled the holy war, the war for the crucifix, the army of the church; the soldiers also bearing the badge of the cross on their coat-armour.

But first let us thoroughly examine what these Albigenses were, and what they held: a question that will quit the cost in studying it.

They were a younger house of the Waldenses, and branched from them; not different in doctrine, but later in time, and distant in place; so called from the country Albigeois, in France, where they lived.

I find three grand different opinions of authors concerning them.

First, some make them to have been very monsters in life and doctrine; so that the heaviest punishment was too

light for them. And this is the general voice of most writers in that age, and all Romanists in our days.

Secondly, others, clean contrary, hold that these Waldenses (for I make them and the Albigenses *synonyma*, as others have done¹) were only the true church of God in that age; whilst all others, being corrupted with abominable superstition, were no true church at all. These alone were God's virgins, his witnesses in sackcloth, his woman in the wilderness, his sealed ones, his seven thousand whose knees were not suppled with the Baalism of that age. This is the express opinion of some strict Protestants; and of some who speak it not out, yet mutter it to themselves.

Thirdly, a third sort explode this opinion, as trespassing on Divine providence²; that God, who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, should be in so long a lethargy as to suffer hell to eat up his heaven on earth for so many years together, leaving no true church but so small a company of such simple people. They conceive that the maintainers hereof engage themselves in a labyrinth of difficulties, hanging too great a weight on so slender a string, in making such a handful of men the only church for so long continuance. More moderately, therefore, they hold, that these Albigenses were a purer part of the church; and, though guilty of some errors (as there must be a dawning before the day), and charged with more, yet they maintained the same doctrine in ore, which since Luther's time was refined³; so that the main body of the church visible at this time was much in dilapidations, whilst the Albigenses, as an innermost chapel thereof, was best in repair.

Let the reader choose the probablest opinion when he hath perused the evidences of all sides; which we will now produce, deducing the history of these Albigenses from their first original.

¹ Jo. Paul. Perin. De Alb. lib. 1, cap. 1.

² Dr. Field, Of the Church, lib. 3, cap. 8.—We acknowledge them (viz. Wickliffe, Huss, Hierome of Prague, &c.) to have been the worthy servants of God, and holy martyrs and confessors, suffering in the cause of Christ against antichrist; yet do we not think that the church of God was found only in them.

³ Dr. White, in his Reply to Fisher, p. 104, 105.—The Waldenses maintained the same doctrine in substance with the modern protestants.

CHAP. XIX.—*The Beginning of the Albigenes. Their Dispersion, Persecution, Increase, Names, and Nick-names.*

ABOUT the year 1160, Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, rich in substance and learning (for a layman), was walking and talking with his friends, when one of them suddenly fell down dead. Which lively spectacle of man's mortality so impressed the soul of this Waldo, that instantly he resolved on a strict reformation of his life, which to his power he performed; translating some books of the Bible; instructing such as resorted to him in godliness of life; teaching withal, that purgatory, masses, dedication of temples, worshiping of saints, prayers for the dead, were inventions of the devil, and snares of avarice; that monkery was a stinking carrion, the church of Rome the whore of Babylon, the pope that antichrist paramount: he sharply lanced the vicious ulcers of clergymen's lives, reproving their pride and luxury. Soon got he many followers, both because novelty is a forcible loadstone, and because he plentifully relieved his poor disciples; and those that use that trade shall never want custom.

The archbishop of Lyons, hearing such doctrines broached as were high treason against the triple crown, ferreted Waldo and his sectaries out of Lyons and the country thereabouts. But persecution is the bellows of their gospel, to blow every spark into a flame. This their division proved their multiplication. Some fled into the Alps, living there on so steep hills, and in so deep holes, that their enemies were afraid to climb or dive after them. Here they had the constant company of the snow: and as it, by the height of the hills, was protected from the sunbeams, so they from the scorching of persecution, even to Luther's time. Others fled into Picardy, Flanders, England, Alsace, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungaria, and whither not¹? the perfume of the pope's presence not keeping this supposed vermin out of Italy itself. Many of them were cruelly massacred; five and thirty burgesses of Mayence burned at Bingen in one fire, eighteen at Mayence, fourscore at Strasburg, at the instance of the bishop thereof. But martyrs' ashes are the best compost to manure the church; for others were won to their opinion by beholding their constancy and patience. Strange that any should fall in love with that

¹ Matth. Paris, in Hen. III. in anno 1213.

profession, whose professors were so miserable ! But truth hath always a good face, though often but bad clothes.

They were called by sundry names ; sometimes from the places where they lived : as from Albigeois, Toulouse, Lyons, Picardy, Bohemia ; Albigenses, Toulousians, Lyonists, Picards, Bohemians. Sometimes from their principal pastor : as from Waldo, Joseph, Henry, Esperon, Arnold ; Waldenses, Josephists, Henricians, Esperonites, Arnoldists. In England they were termed Lollards, from Lollard² their teacher ; not as some friar descanteth, *quasi Lolium in area Domini*. It appeareth not whether they were thus called of others, or called themselves. But grant the latter : and if any object, that they seemed ashamed of Christ, their first godfather, who gave them the name of Christians, thus to denominate themselves from their teachers ; I answer, it is the same the papists do, calling themselves Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, &c. from the founders of their order.

They had also nicknames ; called, first, Poor men of Lyons ; not because they chose to be poor, but could not choose but be poor, being stripped out of all their goods : and why should the friars' glory be this people's shame ? they mocking at poverty in others, which they count meritorious in themselves. Secondly, Patarenians ; that is, sufferers, whose backs were anvils for others to beat on. Thirdly, Turlupins ; that is, dwellers with wolves (and yet might they be God's sheep), being forced to flee into woods. Fourthly, likewise they were called Sicars ; that is, cut-purses. Fifthly, *Fraterculi* ; that is, shifters. Sixthly, *Insabbathæ* ; that is, observers of no sabbath. Seventhly, Pasagenes ; that is, wanderers. As also Ariens, Manicheans, Adamites (how justly will appear afterwards). Yea, scarce was there an arrow in all the quiver of malice which was not shot at them.

CHAP. XX.—*The Albigenses their Answer, confessing some, denying most Crimes laid to their Charge. Commendations their Adversaries give them.*

COME we now to the full and foul indictment wherewith these Albigenses are charged : that they gave no reverence to holy places¹ ; rejected the baptism of infants ; held that temporal power was grounded in grace ; that it was a

² Jo. Paul. Perin. Hist. Waldens. lib. 1, cap. 3.

¹ Reinerius, p. 22, art. 32.

meritorious work to persecute the priests of Rome and their subjects : with the Adamites they went naked (an affront to nature) ; with the Manicheans they made two first causes, God of good, the devil of evil ; held community of all things, even of wives, amongst them ; were sorcerers and conjurers² (pretending to command the devil, when they most obeyed him), guilty of incest, buggery, and more unnatural sins, whereby men (as it were) run backward to hell.

No whit affrighted with this terrible accusation, many late writers dare be their advocates to defend them, though confessing them guilty of some of these, but not in so high and heinous a manner as they are accused.

True it is, because most in that age ran riot in adoring of churches (as if some inherent sanctity was ceiled to their roof, or plastered to their walls ; yea, such as might more ingratiate with God the persons and prayers of people there assembled), the Waldenses (out of that old error not yet worn out, that the best way to straighten what is crooked is to over-bow it) denied churches that relative holiness and fit reverence due unto them. Baptism of infants they refused not (though St. Bernard³, taking it rather from the rebound than first rise, chargeth them therewith), but only deferred it till it might be administered by one of their own ministers ; their tender consciences not digesting the popish baptism, where clear water by God's ordinance, was by man's additions made a salve or plaster. That dominion was founded in grace, seemeth to be their very opinion ; yea, it hangeth as yet in the schools on the file, and is not taken off, as a thing disputable, finding many favourers. But grant it a great error (for wicked men shall be arraigned before God, not as usurpers, but as tyrants ; not for not having right, but not right using the creatures), yet herein they proceeded not so far as the papists nowadays, to unthrone and depose excommunicated princes ; so that they who do most have least cause to accuse them. That they spoke too homely and coarsely of the Romish priests, inveighing too bitterly and uncharitably against them, condemning all for some, may perchance be proved ; and no wonder if they spake ill of those from whom they felt ill. But take their speeches herein as the words of men upon the rack, forced from them by the extremity of cruel usage.

In these errors the Albigenes hope to find favour, if men

² Claudius Rubis, Hist. of Lyons, p. 269.

³ In his 66 Homily on the Canticles.

consider, First, the ignorance of the age they lived in : it is no news to stumble in the dark. Secondly, the frailty (that squire of the body) attending on man's nature ; yea, he shall be immortal who liveth till he be stoned by one without fault. Thirdly, the errors themselves, which are rather in the out-limbs than vitals of religion. And it may be conceived they might have been reclaimed, if used with gentle means, not catechised with fire and faggot ; it being a true rule, that men's consciences are more moved with leading than dragging or drawing.

But the sting of the indictment is still behind in the tail or end thereof ; charging them with such heinous errors in doctrine, and vices in life : all which the patrons for the defendants deny and defy, as coined out of the mint of their enemies' malice⁴.

It will be objected, if denying the fact might serve the turn, we should have no malefactors : this therefore is but a poor plea, barely to deny, when that such clouds of witnesses are against them. And grant they have a few straggling writers or some sleeping records which may seem to acquit them, what are one or two men (though suppose them giants) against a whole army ?

To this I find it answered for the Albigenses, that it hath been the constant practice of the Romish writers, always to defame those that differ from them, especially if they handle too roughly the *Noli me tangere* of the pope's supremacy. In later times what aspersions, as false as foul, have Cochleus⁵ and Bolsecus⁶ laid on Luther and Calvin ! Now how fearless will they be to steal at midnight, who dare thus rob men of their good name at noon-day ? When such authors as these lie with a witness, yea, with many witnesses⁷, who could disprove them ; no wonder if they take liberty falsely to accuse the Albigenses, conceiving themselves out of the reach of confutation ; writing in such an age when all the counsel is on their own side, being plaintiffs, and none assigned for the defendants.

⁴ Bishop Jewel, Apol. part 1, chap. 2. divis. 1.—Waldo and the rest, for aught we know, and I believe (setting malice aside), for aught you know, were godly men. Their greatest error was that they complained of the dissolute and vicious lives of the clergy.

⁵ In Vita Lutheri.

⁶ In Vita Calvini.

⁷ Solidly confuted by Dr. Whitaker, De Notis Ecclesiæ, cap. 15. Out of Melancthon, Sleidan, Gryneus, Beza, eyewitnesses.

Secondly, I find they produce the authentical copies (such as are above their enemies' calumnies) of the catechisms, apologies, remonstrances of these Albigenses; wherein the distilled doctrine of the protestants is delivered free from Manicheism, or any other heresy fathered upon them.

Thirdly, their enemies' slanders plainly appear in some particulars, which justly shaketh the credit of the whole accusation. For whereas they are charged with the Adamites willingly to have gone naked, we find them rather *nudati* than *nudi*, forced thereunto by the pope's legate; who being about to take the city of Carcassone in France, where these people most swarmed, he would not grant them their lives but on this condition, that both males and females should go forth and pass by his army stark naked⁸. Argued it not a very foul stomach in him, who could feed his eyes with contentment on such a sight, which otherwise would more deeply have wounded the modesty of the beholder than of the doers, who did it by compulsion? See now how justly these innocents are charged! As well may the Israelites be blamed for cruelty to themselves, in putting out their own eyes, when they were commanded to do it by the merciless Ammonite.

Lastly, they are cleared by the testimonies of their very enemies; and who knoweth not, but such a witness is equivalent to a general consent? For those, who, when bemaddened with anger, most rave and rage against them, yet *per lucida intervalla*, in their cold blood, when their words are indicted from their judgments not passions, do most sufficiently acquit them from these accusations.

Reinerius, a Jacobine monk, and a cruel inquisitor of the Waldenses, testified⁹, that they lived justly before men, and believed all things well of God, and held all the articles contained in the Creed; only they blasphemed the Romish church, and hated it.

Claudius de Seissell archbishop of Turin confesseth, as touching their life and manners they were sound and unproveable, without scandal amongst men, giving themselves (to their power) to the observation of the commandments of God.

⁸ So witnesseth Peter De Valle Sarnensi, being himself a monk, and lately printed (anno 1615) in Paris. See Rivet on Genesis, p. 138.

⁹ Cited by Fox in his Martyrol. p. 232.

King Louis XII. of France, being thoroughly informed of the faith and life of the Waldenses in his time, bound it with an oath, that they were better men than he or his people. The same king having killed many of those poor people, and having called the place where they lived, *Vallis meretricia*, for their painted and dissembled piety, upon better instructions changed the name, calling it from himself, The Vale of Louis¹⁰.

William de Belai, lieutenant of Piedmont, gave this commendation of the Merindelites (a sprig which some hundred years after sprouted from the Waldenses), that they were a laborious people, averse from suits, bountiful to the poor, duly paying their princes' tributes and lords' dues, serving God with daily prayers, and showing forth much innocency in manners¹¹.

Thuanus, one that writeth truth with a steady hand, jogged neither by Romanists nor Huguenots, thus charactereth the Con-waldenses¹², a stem of that stock we speak of:—They used raw pelts clapped about them for their clothes, the four feet whereof served instead of buttons; all equal in poverty, having no beggars amongst them; their diet on deer and milk; yet was there scarce any amongst them but could read and write handsomely, understand the Bible, and sing psalms; scarce a boy but could presently and by heart give an account of his faith. Tribute they paid very religiously, &c.

More might be added; but I end all with Gamaliel's words, "If this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it"¹³." It argueth the goodness of their cause, in that all their enemies' cruelty (unwise to think to spoil the growth of chamomile by trampling on it) could never suppress them; but they continued till the days of Luther, when this morning star willingly surrendered his place to him, a brighter sun. But enough of their life and manners. And if any condemn me for superfluity herein, I guard myself with St. Augustine's shield, *Non est multiloquium, quando necessaria dicuntur, quantalibet sermonum multitudine ac prolixitate dicantur*¹⁴.

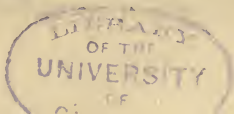
¹⁰ Thuanus, tom. 2, lib. 27, p. 15.

¹¹ Idem, tom. 10, lib. 6, p. 188.

¹² Tom. 2, lib. 27, p. 16.

¹³ Acts, v. 38, 39.

¹⁴ In his preface to his *Retractat*.



CHAP. XXI.—*The holy Army advance against the Albigen-
ses. The Cities of Besier and Carcassone taken.*

POPE Innocent III., having now gathered together an army of one hundred thousand pilgrims, set forwards for the final extirpation of the poor Albigenes. The best champions for his holiness herein were the duke of Burgundy, the earls of Nevers, St. Paul, Auxerre, Geneva, Poitiers, with Simon earl of Montfort; of the clergy, Milo the pope's legate, the archbishop of Sens, Roan; the bishops of Clermont, Nevers, Lisieux, Bayeux, Chartres, with divers others; every bishop with the pilgrims of his jurisdiction; to whom the pope promised paradise in heaven, but not one penny on earth. Their work was to destroy the Albigenes, which were in great numbers in Dauphiné, Provence, Narbonne, Toulouse, and other parts of France. Their commission also extended to the rooting out of all their friends and favourers, whether detected, or only suspected; such as were Reimund earl of Toulouse, Reimund earl of Foix, the viscount of Besiers, Gaston lord of Berne, the earl of Bigorre, the Lady of la Vaur, with divers others. See here a new gate to heaven never opened before, for men to cut their way thither through the throats of their innocent brethren! Behold the Holy Ghost, who once came down in the form of a dove, now counterfeited in the shape of a vulture!

But we must not forget, how, just before the war began, the pope pretending to reclaim them by reasons to the church of Rome; to which end he gave order for a disputation with them. The parties, place, and time were agreed on; who, where, when they should dispute; but in fine nothing was effected. Yea, who ever knew conferences in so great oppositions to ripen kindly, and bring any fruit to perfection? for many come rather for faction than satisfaction, resolving to carry home the same opinions they brought with them: an upright moderator will scarce be found, who hangeth not to one side; the place will be subject to suspicion, and hinder liberty; boldness and readiness of speech, with most (though not most judicious) auditors, will bear away the bell from solidity of arguments; the passages in the disputing will be partially reported, and both sides will brag of the conquest; so that the rent will be made worse, and more spirits conjured up than allayed.

But now words ended in blows; the pope only entertain-

ing them in conferences¹, that in the mean time he might prepare his great armies more suddenly to suppress them.

The first piece of service his soldiers performed was in sacking the city of Besiers, and borough of Carcassone, in which many catholics, steadfast in the Romish faith, did dwell, and promiscuously were slain with the Albigenses; yea, priests themselves were cut in pieces in their priestly ornaments, and under the banner of the cross; so that the swallowing of their foes made their friends also go down glib through their throats, without danger of choking. As for the city of Carcassone, which was not far from the borough, to the inhabitants thereof those immodest conditions were propounded, whereof formerly: which they refused, and God better provided for them; for whilst the city was besieged, they escaped out by the benefit of a vault under ground, and so shifted abroad for themselves.

CHAP. XXII.—*Simon Earl of Montfort chosen Captain of the Holy War. He conquereth the King of Aragon, prevaieth against the Albigenses, and at last is killed by a Woman.*

HITHERTO this war was managed by the pope's legate; but now it was concluded that a secular captain should be adjoined to him, in whose person the chief command should reside over martial affairs; and for his pains, by the pope's donation, he was to enjoy all countries that should be conquered from the Albigenses or their favourers². The place was offered to the duke of Burgundy, who refused it, saying, "he had lands and lordships enough of his own, without spoiling others of their goods." It was waved also by the earls of St. Paul and Nevers, whether out of conscience or policy; because though the pope gave them the bear's skin, they must first kill and flay him themselves. At last Simon of Montfort, nigh Paris, accepted of it, swearing to vex the Lord's enemies [1210]. And for a breakfast to begin with, he was seized of the vicecounty of Besiers, proceeding from hence to take many castles and cities.

One grand inconvenience attended on this army of pilgrims; for when their quarantine, or forty days' service, was expired (the term the pope set them to merit paradise in);

¹ Jo. Paul Perin. De Albig. lib. 1, cap. 2.

² See the substance of this following story in Jo. Paul Perin. lib. 1, cap. 6, et deinceps.

they would not stay one whit longer; like posthorses they would run to their set stage, but could not be spurred one foot further; contenting themselves they had already purchased heaven, and fearing they should be put in possession thereof too soon, by losing their lives in that service. And though the bishops persuaded some few to stay, that so the surplusage of their merits might make up the arrearages of their friends which wanted them, yet could they not prevail to any purpose. Nor could they so cast and contrive their matters, the tide of people's devotion being uncertain, but that betwixt the going out of the old, and coming in of the new store of pilgrims, there would be a low ebb, wherein their army was almost wasted to nothing; whereof the Albigenses made no small advantage.

However, the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminge, and prince of Berne, the patrons of the Albigenses, finding they were too weak for this holy army, sheltered themselves under Peter king of Aragon; whose homagers they were, receiving investiture from him, though their dominions lay on this side of the Pyrenean hills. This king had the greatness of the earl of Montfort in suspicion, fearing lest these several principalities, which now were single arrows, should be bound in one sheaf, conquered and united under Earl Simon. Wherefore he fomented a faction in them against the holy army, publicly protesting against the proceedings of Earl Simon; charging him to have turned the bark of God's church into a pirate's ship, robbing others, and enriching themselves under the pretence of religion, seizing on the lands of good catholics for supposed heretics, using God's cause as hunters do a stand, in it the more covertly to shoot at what game they please; otherwise why was the viscount of Besiers, who lived and died firm in the Romish faith, lately trained into the legate's hand, and, against oaths and promises of his safe return, kept close prisoner till his death, and his lands seized on by Earl Simon?

At last the king of Aragon taking the earl of Montfort on the advantage (shooting him as it were betwixt wind and water, the ending of the old and beginning of new pilgrims), forced him to a battle [1212]. The king had thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse; but the earl, of both foot and horse not above two thousand two hundred. They closed together near the castle of Moret; and the king, whether out of zeal of conquest and thirst of honour, or distrust of under officers, or desire to animate others, or a mixture of all, ran his curvet so openly, and made his turns

and returns in the head of the army, that so fair a mark invited his enemies' arrows to hit him, by whom he was wounded to death, and fell from his horse; to lesson all generals to keep themselves, like the heart, in the body of the army, whence they may have a virtual omnipresence in every part thereof; and not to expose their persons (which, like crystal vials, contain the extracted spirits of their soldiers spilled with their breaking) to places of imminent danger. With his body fell the hearts of his men; and though the earls of Toulouse, Foix, and Comminge, persuaded, entreated, threatened them to stay, they used their oratory so long till their audience ran all away, and they were fain to follow them, reserving themselves by flight to redeem their honour some other time.

Simon, improving this victory, pursued them to the gates of Toulouse, and killed many thousands. The friars imputed this victory to the bishop's benediction, and adoring a piece of the cross, together with the fervency of the clergy's prayers, which, remaining behind in the castle of Moret, battered heaven with their importunity. On the other side, the Albigenses acknowledged God's justice in punishing the proud king of Aragon; who, as if his arm had been strong and long enough to pluck down the victory out of heaven without God's reaching it to him, conceived that Earl Simon came rather to cast himself down at his feet than to fight. But such reckonings without the host are ever subject to a rear account.

Yet within few years the face of this war began to alter (with writers of shorthand we must set a prick for a letter, a letter for a word, marking only the most remarkable). For young Reimund earl of Toulouse, exceeding his father in valour and success, so bestirred himself, that in few months he regained what Earl Simon was many years in getting: and at last Earl Simon besieging Toulouse, with a stone which a woman let fly out of an engine, had his head parted from his body [1218].

Men use not to be niggards of their censures on strange accidents: some paralleled his life with Abimelech, that tyrant judge; who with the bramble (fitter to make a fire than a king of) accepted of the wooden monarchy, when the vine, olive, fig-tree, declined it. They paired them also in their ends, death disdaining to send his summons by a masculine hand, but arresting them both by a woman. Some persuaded themselves they saw God's finger in the woman's hand; that, because the greater part of his cruelty lighted on

the weaker sex (for he had buried the lady of la Vaur alive, respecting neither her sex nor nobility), a woman was chosen out to be his executioner: though of himself he was not so prone to cruelty, but had those at his elbow who prompted him to it. The time of his death was a large field for the conceits of others to walk in; because even then, when the pope and three councils, of Vaur, Montpelier, and Lateran, had pronounced him son, servant, favourite of the faith, the invincible defender thereof: and must he not needs break, being swoln with so many windy titles? Amongst other of his styles he was earl of Leicester in England¹, and father to Simon Montfort, the Catiline of this kingdom², who, under pretence of curing this land of some grievances, had killed it with his physic, had he not been killed himself in the battle of Eveshold in the reign of Henry III.

And here ended the storm of open war against the Albigenes, though some great drops fell afterwards. Yea, now the pope grew sensible of many mischiefs in prosecuting this people with the holy war: first, the incongruity betwixt the word and the sword; to confute heretics with armies in the field opened clamorous mouths. Secondly, three hundred thousand of these croised pilgrims lost their lives in this expedition, within the space of fifteen years³; so that there was neither city nor village in France, but by reason hereof had widows and orphans cursing this expedition. And his holiness, after he had made allowance for his loss of time, blood, and credit, found his gain *de claro* very small. Besides, such was the chance of war, and good catholics were so intermingled with heretics, that in sacking of cities they were slain together. Whereupon the pope resolved of a privater way, which made less noise in the world, attracted less envy, and was more effectual; to prosecute them by way of inquisition. Hereby he might single them out by retail, rooting out the tares without hurting the corn, and overthrowing them by piecemeal whom he could never stagger in gross.

Dominic, a Spaniard, was first author hereof. Well did his mother, being with child of him, dream that she had a dog vomiting fire in her womb⁴. This ignivomous cur (sire of the litter of mendicant friars called Dominicans) did bark at and deeply bite the poor Albigenés. After his

¹ See Camd. in Leicestershire. ² Also in Worcestershire.

³ Perin, Of the Albigenes, lib. 2. cap. 4.

⁴ Martyrol. in Vita Dominici.

leath, Pope Honorius for his good service bestowed a saintship on him: for he dreamed he saw the church of Rome falling, and Dominic holding it up with his shoulders; wherefore he canonized this Atlas of their religion. The proceedings of this inquisition were the abridgment of all cruelty, turning the sword of justice into the butcher's axe. But no doubt God, when he maketh inquisition for blood⁵, will one day remember this bloody inquisition. And who can but admire at the continuance of the doctrine of the Albigenses to this day, maugre all their enemies? Let those privy councillors of nature, who can tell where swallows lie all winter, and how at the spring they have a resurrection from their seeming deadness, let those, I say, also inform us in what invisible sanctuaries this doctrine did lurk in spite of persecution, and how it revived out of its ashes at the coming of Luther. To conclude: it is observed, that in those parts of France where the Albigenses were most cruelly handled, now the protestants (heirs to most of their tenets) flourish most; as in the countries of Gascoigne, Dauphiné, and Languedoc.

CHAP. XXIII.—*King Almerick, for his Laziness, deposed by the Pope.*

WELCOME the Holy Land, welcome Ptolemais! How shallow and almost quite dry is the stream of pilgrims grown here, since the pope hath drained it with so large a by-channel into France!

As for Almerick, the idle king of Jerusalem, we find him as we left him, crowning his cares constantly in wine: his hands being lazier than those that are printed in the margin of a book, which point what others should read; whilst he would neither do nor order what should be done: so true was it of him, what is said of another¹, *Titularis non tutelaris rex; defuit non præfuit reipublicæ*.

And now the war betwixt Noradin, Saladin's son, and Saphradin his uncle, about the sovereignty, lasting nine years, ended with Saphradin's death; and Noradin contented himself with the government of Aleppo, whilst Saphradin's two sons shared his dominions, Coradin commanding in Damascus and Syria, and Meledin in Egypt.

The former of these without any resistance built a fort in Mount Tabor, to the great annoyance of the Christians. To prevent further mischief arising from Almerick's negligence,

⁵ Psalm ix. 12.

¹ Of Chilperick king of France.

the pope (who would have a finger in every crown, and a hand in this) deposed him from the kingdom. This Almerick, grieved to lose what he was never careful to keep, soon after died for sorrow. But how doth this agree with Marinus Sanutus, who maketh him to die of a surfeit of gillheads¹ five years sooner, and saith there was five years' *interregnum* in Palestine, wherein the Christians had no king at all?

CHAP. XXIV.—*John Bren made King of Jerusalem. A most promising Voyage into Palestine of new Pilgrims, who remove the Seat of the War into Egypt.*

IN the place of Almerick the pope appointed John de Bren, a private French gentleman, to be king [1209]; who, to twist his title with another string, married Maria Iole, the sole daughter of Conrad, late king of Jerusalem. This John had behaved himself right valiantly amongst other Latin princes in the voyage against the Greeks, and was a most martial man, as all do witness: only one calleth him *imbellem hominem*²; why I know not, except he be of that humour to delight to be one of the antipodes, treading opposite to a world of writers besides. In the beginning of his reign this accident (whether monstrous or miraculous) fell out [1213]: in France, a boy (for his years) went about singing in his own tongue,

Jesus, Lord, repair our loss;
Restore to us thy holy cross.

Numberless children ran after him, and followed the same tune their captain and chanter did set them. No bolts, no bars, no fear of fathers or love of mothers, could hold them back, but they would to the Holy Land to work wonders there; till their merry music had a sad close, all either perishing on land or drowned by sea. It was done (saith my author³) by the instinct of the devil, who, as it were, desired a cordial of children's blood to comfort his weak stomach long cloyed with murdering of men.

Soon after began the Lateran council under Innocent III. [1215]; wherein many things were concluded for the recovery of the Holy Land: as, that the cross should every where be preached with zeal and earnestness to procure

¹ A fish called *aurata*, or *aurella*.

² Theod. à Niein, *De Privileg. Imper. cap. De Expedit. Hierosol.*

³ Matth. Paris. in anno 1213, p. 324.—*Præstigio diabolico penitus infatuati.*

pilgrims; that all tilings in Christendom for three years should be forbidden, that so the spears of Christians might only be broken against infidels⁴; that clergymen that went this voyage might (if need were) mortgage their church livings for three years to provide themselves with present necessities; that all debtors, during their pilgrimage (though bound by oath in conscience, the strongest specialty), should be dispensed with to pay no use to their creditors; who, if Christians, by excommunications; if Jews, were to be forced by the secular power to remit their interest; that all priests should contribute the twentieth part of their revenues for three years, to advance this design. "And lest (saith his holiness) we should seem to lay heavy burdens on others which we will not touch with our least finger, we assign a ship at our own cost to carry out pilgrims of the city of Rome; and disburse for the present what can be spared from our necessary expenses, to the sum of thirty thousand pounds, to further the project; and for three years to come, we and our brethren the cardinals of Rome will fully pay the tenth of our church profits."

Hereupon next spring a numerous army set forward to Palestine [1216], conducted by Pelagius the pope's legate, Andrew king of Hungary (who having washed himself in the river of Jordan, would stay no longer, but instantly returned home), the three electoral archbishops, with those of Liege, Wurtzburg, Bamberg, Strasburg, Paris, &c. Louis duke of Bavaria, Leopold of Austria, a navy of our English, besides Florentines, Genoans, and many other nations. The autumn they spent in the fruitless besieging of the fort of Mount Tabor; whilst King John Bren won from the Turks the castle of Pilgrims, a place of great consequence on the sea-side [Nov.].

1217]. Then was it debated on both sides of translating the war into Egypt; which many advised to be done: for that country afforded the Turks their victuals and munition, and the best way to draw them low was to stop them in the fountain. It was also most honour to rouse the lion in his own den. And Palestine was so foraged, that there was nothing to be gleaned in the stubble; whereas Egypt was so rich and fruitful, it cared not for the frowns of heaven, so it might have the favour of Nilus; and there was no fear to want bread in that the granary of the world. That according to the rule, *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quàm*

⁴ Centuriat. Cent. 13, cap. 9.

propulsanti, the Christians would be heartened, but the Egyptians discouraged in the invasion of Egypt. The sad spectacle of their country's vastation would disturb their minds, make them diffident of their own worth, and insufficient to maintain their cause. Lastly, the Christians might leave when they list, reserving at all times Ptolemais to entertain them in case fortune should cross their designs.

But the reasons to the contrary wanted not weight but weighing. They considered not (what was objected) that to invade a strong entire country without having a party within it to side with them, was to endeavour to cleave a tree with a beetle without a wedge. Besides, Egypt was an exception from the rules of all other countries, and had certain local maxims of leading an army appropriated to it alone. That valour must needs have the fall, when it wrestleth with nature itself, and fighteth against bogs, rivers, and inundations. That it was more agreeable to reason, first to recover and defend what once was their own, before they attempted other men's possessions. That these their forces afforded little hope of victory in another kingdom, which were not able to clear their own country, and the forts in Syria, from so dangerous an enemy. Lastly, that the Egyptians fighting for their fathers, wives, and children, would raise their valour to the highest point of resolution. These arguments notwithstanding, the watchword was given for Egypt, whither all addressed themselves.

And here began the discords betwixt King John and the pope's legate, who challenged not only an influence but a predominancy in every thing, and would dictate to the general what he should do in martial affairs; he presumed on his book-learning to control the practice of experienced captains by his military speculations. The king stormed hereat, showing there were some mysteries in the captain-craft not communicable to any which had not served the trade, and which the heart of a scholar was too narrow to contain; that though scholarship was a stock fit to graft any profession on, yet some good time is requisite thereunto, and that they must not think to proceed military masters at their first admission in a camp; that though the legate might conceive himself to know the latitude of warlike principles, yet he knew not the use of distinctions, exceptions, and cautions of application, and might easily be misled by disproportion and dissimilitude of examples, the variation of circumstances, the infiniteness of punctual

occurrences: wherefore he forbade him to meddle with martial matters, challenging them to belong to his own disposal. But Pelagius the legate, highly opinioned of his own sufficiency, as if his place made him infallible in every thing, and loath to confess himself besides the cushion whilst he sat in the chair, would have an oar in all actions. He held this conclusion, that the general rules of war were easily known; and as for the qualification of them *pro exigentia hinc et nunc*, herein reason was the key of the work, which scholars having most perfected by learning, were thereby the most competent judges what should be done on all occasions. How dearly the Christians paid for this his error, and how this discord, smothered for a while, brake out, we shall see hereafter. Meantime, hoising up sails, the pilgrims' navy safely arrived at Damietta.

CHAP. XXV.—*Damietta besieged and taken. The Christians unadvisedly refuse honourable Conditions.*

DAMIIETTA is a chief haven of Egypt, anciently Pelusium; seated on the easternmost stream of the Nile. Here the east and west world met together to exchange their wars, she grudging for trade to give the upper hand to Alexandria itself. At their landing the moon was almost totally eclipsed¹ [July 9, 1218]; whence the Christians conceived (guess the frailness of the building by the inconsistency of the foundation) that the overthrow of the Mahometans (whose ensign was the half-moon²) was portended. But the calculators of after-chances seldom hit right. In the siege of this city they were to encounter with a fourfold difficulty, besides Damietta itself:—

First, with a great chain crossing the harbour; which with indefatigable pains, and art mingled with labour, they brake asunder; industry in action being as importunity in speech, by continual inculcation forcing a yielding beyond the strength of reason.

Secondly, the river Nile did much annoy them. This river (the height of whose flowing is the Egyptian almanack, whereby they prognosticate future plenty or penury) now out of time and beyond measure drowned the country. Bold fishes swam into the Christians' tents, who took them with their hands, though willingly they could have wanted such dainties³; for the sauce was more than the meat. Against

¹ Matth. Paris, in Joan. p. 401.

² Munster.

³ Illis tamen deliciis carere maluissent.—Matth. Par. p. 405.

this mischief they fenced themselves with prayer, and a public fast enjoined by the legate; whereby the water soon abated. And lest God's mercy herein, when gotten, should be forgotten, a public thanksgiving was proclaimed, that this favour obtained by prayer might be kept by praises.

Thirdly, they were to grapple with the fort of Pharia, a seeming impregnable place, betwixt them and Damietta. To check this fort, the Christians built a tower on ships; which suddenly falling, brained many, bruised more of their own men; and all who felt not the blow were stricken with the fright. King John comforted his soldiers discouraged hereat, desiring them to apprehend actions by their true causes; and as not to vaunt of blind victories, so not to be dismayed at casual mishaps, so purely accidental, that there was no guard against them in the schools of defence, either of wisdom or valour. By his advice a more substantial tower was built, the rarest piece in that kind the world ever saw; by the manning whereof, after many bloody assaults, they mastered the fort of Pharia [Aug. 24].

Fourthly, they had to do with Meladin king of Egypt, who lay beside them, constantly furnishing the city with men and victuals, and exercising the Christians with continual skirmishes. In one, with his wildfire he did them much harm, and King John was dangerously scorched [Feb. 1219]. But seeing that the Christians hewed their way through the rocks of all difficulties, he propounded peace unto them by the mediation of Noradin his brother, king of Damascus; proffering them, if they would depart, to restore them the true cross, the city of Jerusalem, and all the land of Palestine.

The English, French, and Italians would have embraced the conditions⁴, pleading, that honourable peace was the centre of war, where it should rest; that they could not satisfy their conscience to rob these Egyptians of their lands without a special command from God; that it was good wisdom to take so desperate a debt whensoever the payment was tendered; otherwise, if they would not be content with their arms full, they might perchance return with their hands empty.

But the legate would noways consent, alleging this voyage was undertaken not only for the recovery of Palestine, but for the extirpation of the Mahometan superstition. And herein no doubt he followed the instructions of his

⁴ P. Æmil. p. 201.

master, whose end in this war was, that this war should have no end, but be always in doing though never done. He knew it was dangerous to stop an issue which had been long open, and would in no case close up this vent of people by concluding a final peace. Besides, an old prophecy, that a Spaniard should win Jerusalem, and work wonders in those parts, made Pelagius that countryman more zealous herein⁵. Coradin, angry his proffer was refused, beat down the walls of Jerusalem and all the beautiful buildings therein, save the Tower of David and the Temple of the Sepulchre. Not long after, Damietta, having been besieged one year and seven months, was taken without resistance [Nov. 5]; plague and famine had made such a vastation therein. The Christians entered with an intent to kill all; but their anger soon melted into pity, beholding the city all bestrewed with corpses. The sight was bad, and the scent was worse, for the dead killed the living. Yea, God's sword had left their sword no work: of threescore and ten thousand, but three thousand remained⁶; who had their lives pardoned on condition to cleanse the city, which employed them a quarter of a year. Hence the Christians marched and took the city of Tanis; and soon after the pope substituted John de Columna, a cardinal, legate in the place of Pelagius⁷.

CHAP. XXVI.—*New Discords betwixt the King and the Legate. They march up to besiege Cairo.*

GREAT was the spoil they found in Damietta [1220], wherein, as in strong barred chests, the merchants of Egypt and India had locked up their treasure. A full year the Christians stayed here, contented to make this inn their home. Here arose new discords betwixt the king and the new legate, who by virtue of his legation challenged Damietta for his holiness, which by public agreement was formerly assigned to the king. Bren in anger returned to Ptolemais, both to puff out his discontents in private, and to teach the Christians his worth by wanting him; for presently they found themselves at a loss; neither could they stand still without disgrace, nor go on without danger. The legate commanded them to march up; but they had too much spirit to be ruled by a spiritual man, and swore not to stir a step except the king was with them. Messen-

⁵ Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 16, col. 692.

⁶ P. Æmil. p. 203.

⁷ Magdeburg. p. 693.

gers, therefore, were sent to Ptolemais to fetch him. They found him of a steely nature; once thorough hot, long in cooling: yet by promising him he should have his own desires, they overpersuaded him not to starve an army by feeding his own humours.

Scarce, after eight months' absence, was he returned to Damietta, but new divisions were betwixt them. The legate persuaded the army to march up and besiege Cairo; he promised, if they would obey him, they should quickly command all Egypt, by present invading it. Let defendants lie at a close guard, and offer no play. Delays are a safe shield to save, but celerity the best sword to win a country. Thus Alexander conquered the world before it could bethink itself to make resistance. And thus God now opened them a door of victory, except they would bar it up by their own idleness.

But the king advised to return into Syria; that Cairo was difficult to take, and impossible to keep; that the ground whereon they went was as treacherous as the people against whom they fought; that better now to retire with honour, than hereafter fly with shame; that none but an empiric in war will deny, but that more true valour is in an orderly well grounded retreat, than in a furious rash invasion.

But the legate used an inartificial argument drawn from the authority of his place, thundering excommunication against those that would not march forward: and now needs must they go when he driveth them.

The crafty Egyptians (of whom it is true, what is said of the Parthians, their flight is more to be feared than their fight) ran away, counterfeiting cowardliness. The Christians triumphed hereat; as if the silly fish should rejoice that he had caught the fisherman, when he had swallowed his bait. The legate hugged himself in his own happiness, that he had given so successful advice. And now see how the garland of their victory proved the halter to strangle them.

CHAP. XXVII.—*The miserable Case of the drowned Christians in Egypt. Damietta surrendered in Ransom of their Lives.*

EGYPT is a low level country, except some few advantages which the Egyptians had fortified for themselves. Through the midst of the land ran the river Nile, whose stream they had so bridled with banks and sluices, that they

could keep it to be their own servant, and make it their enemies' master at pleasure. The Christians confidently marched on; and the Turks, perceiving the game was come within the toil, pierced their banks, and unmuzzling the river, let it run open mouth upon them; yet so, that at first they drowned them up but to the middle, reserving their lives for a further purpose, thereby in exchange to recover Damietta and their country's liberty.

See here the land of Egypt turned in an instant into the Egyptian sea! See an army of sixty thousand, as the neck of one man, stretched on the block, and waiting the fatal stroke! Many cursed the legate, and their own rashness, that they should follow the counsel of a gowned man (all whose experience was clasped in a book) rather than the advice of experienced captains. But too late repentance, because it soweth not in season, reapeth nothing but unavoidable misery.

Meladin king of Egypt, seeing the constancy and patience of the Christians, was moved with compassion towards them. He had of himself strong inclinations to Christianity, weary of Mahometanism, and willing to break that prison, but for watchful jailers about him. He proffered the Christians their lives on condition they would quit the country and restore Damietta. They accepted the conditions, and sent messengers to Damietta to prepare them for the surrendering of it. But they within the city, being themselves safe on shore, tyrannized on their poor brethren in shipwreck, pretending that this army of pilgrims deserved no pity, who had invited this misfortune on themselves by their own rashness; that if they yielded up this city for nothing, which cost so many lives, they should betray themselves to the derision of the whole world; that if these perished, more men might be had, but no more Damiettas; being a place of such importance, it would always be a snaffle in the mouth of the Egyptian king. On the other side, the friends of the distressed Christians confessed that indeed their voyage was unadvised and justly to be blamed; yet worse and more inconsiderate projects have armies oft undertaken, which, if crowned with success, have been above censure; yea, have passed not only without questioning but with commendations. But this is the misery of misery, that those who are most afflicted of God shall be most condemned of men. Wherefore they requested them to pity their brethren, and not to leave them in this forlorn estate. How clamorous would their innocent blood be in the court of Heaven, to sue

for revenge on those who forsook them in this distress ! And grant Damietta a city of great consequence, yet cities in themselves were but dead things, and men were the souls to enliven them : so that those soldiers which won Damietta, if preserved alive, might haply recover as strong a city afterwards.

But finding their arguments not to prevail, they betook themselves to arms, by force to compel the adverse party to resign the city. King John also threatened, in case they denied to surrender it, to give up to Meladin Ptolemais in Syria in exchange for Damietta. At last, according to the agreement, Damietta was restored to the Turks, and the Christian army let out of the trap wherein it was taken. Meladin out of his princely goodness furnished them with victuals, and with horses to carry their feeble persons upon¹. And thus the Christians had the greatest blow given them without a blow given them ; the Egyptians obtaining their victory not by blood but by water.

CHAP. XXVIII.—*John Bren resigneth the Kingdom of Jerusalem to Frederick the Second, German Emperor.*

THERE was also concluded a peace with the Turks for eight years. And now matters being settled as well as they might be in Syria, King John took a journey to Rome, where he was bountifully feasted, and honourably entertained by the pope. Here it was agreed (whether at the first by his voluntary offer, or working of others, it appeareth not) that he should resign the kingdom of Jerusalem to Frederick II., German emperor, who was to marry Iole, the sole daughter of King John by his first wife, though by a second he had another, Martha, married to Robert emperor of Constantinople, so that he was father-in-law both to emperor of east and west.

Some condemned his resignation as an unadvised act, as if he had first parted from his wits, who would willingly part from a kingdom ; whilst others commend his discretion. For, first, his wife was dead, in whose right he held his kingdom, and thereby a door was opened for other litigious pretenders to the crown. Secondly, it was policy, *fugere nē fugaretur* ; yea, this was no flight, but an honourable departure. Well he knew the Turks' power to invade, and his own weakness to defend what was left in Syria ; so that finding the weight too heavy for himself, he did well to lay it

¹ P. Æmil. p. 205.

on stronger shoulders. Thirdly, before his resignation he had little more than a title; and after it he had nothing less, men having so tuned their tongues to salute him king of Jerusalem, that he was so called to the day of his death. Lastly, what he wanted in the stateliness of his bed, he had in the soundness of his sleep; and though his commons perchance were shorter, yet he battled better on them.

He got now more in a twelvemonth than in seven years before, going from country to country; and yet the farther this stone rolled, the more moss he gathered. In France, besides rich gifts left to himself, he had the managing of sixty thousand crowns; the legacy which Philip Augustus the king on his death-bed bequeathed to the Templars and the holy war¹. In England he received from Henry III. many great presents, though afterwards he proved but unthankful for them². In Spain he got a rich wife, Beringaria, the daughter of the king of Castile. In Italy he tasted very largely of the pope's liberality, and lived there in good esteem. But he went off the stage without any applause, because he lost himself in his last act, perfidiously raising rebellions against Frederick, his son-in-law, at the instigation of his holiness. Nor recovered he his credit, though after he went to his son, Robert, to Constantinople, and there did many good offices. He died anno 1237.

CHAP. XXIX.—*The true Character of Frederick. How the History of his Life is prejudiced by the Partiality of Authors on both Sides.*

THE nuptial solemnities of Frederick with the Lady Iole were performed at Rome, in the presence of the pope, with all ceremonies of majesty; and Frederick promised to prosecute in person his title in Palestine within two years. Little hope have I to content the reader in this king's life, who cannot satisfy myself; writers of that age are so possessed with partiality³. The faction of the Guelfes and Gibellines discovereth not itself more plainly in the camp than in the chronicles; yea, historians turn schoolmen in matters of fact, arguing them *pro et con*. And as it is in the fable of the man that had two wives, whilst his old wife plucked out his black hairs, the evidence

¹ P. Æmil. in Phil. 2, p. 205. ² Matth. Paris, p. 627.

³ Blondus, Fazellus, &c. for the Pope. Ursperg. Petrus de Vineis (till corrupted with bribes), &c. for the emperor. Matth. Paris, a moderate man, whom we follow most.

of his youth, his young one un-grayhaired him, that no standards of antiquity might remain, they made him bald betwixt them : so amongst our late writers ; whilst Protestants cut off the authority from all papized writers of that age, and Romanists cast away the witness of all imperialized authors then living (such as Urspergensis is, and generally all Germans), counting them *testes domesticos*, and therefore of no validity : betwixt them they draw all history of that time very slender, and make it almost quite nothing. We will not engage ourselves in their quarrels ; but may safely believe that Frederick was neither saint nor devil, but man. Many virtues in him his foes must commend, and some vices his friends must confess. He was very learned⁴, according to the rate of that age, especially for a prince, who only baiteth at learning, and maketh not his profession to lodge in. Wise he was in projecting, nor were his thoughts ever so scattered with any sudden accident, but he could instantly recollect himself. Valiant he was, and very fortunate, though this tendeth more to God's praise than his ; wondrous bountiful to scholars and soldiers, whose good will he enjoyed, for he paid for it.

But this gold had its allay of cruelty, though this was not so much bred in him as he brought to it. Treasons against him were so frequent, he could not be safe but must be severe, nor severe without incurring the aspersion of cruelty. His pride was excessive, and so was his wantonness : a nun's veil was but a slender shield against his lust. This sin he was given to⁵, which was besides the custom of the Dutch, saith one, who, though great friends to Bacchus, are no favourites of Venus ; which is strange, that they should heap up so much fuel, and have no more fire.

In a word, he was a better emperor than a man, his vices being personal, most hurting himself ; his virtues of a public nature, and accomplishing him for government.

CHAP. XXX.—*Mines and Countermines betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, seeking to blow up, or at leastwise to stay, the Projects each of other.*

IT is verily conceived that the pope provided this match for Frederick to employ him in Palestine, whilst he at home might play his game at pleasure. For as provident Nature, in marshaling the elements, assigned fire a place in the verge and border of this lower world far from the

⁴ Pantal. De Viris illustr. Germ. part 2, p. 121.

⁵ Præter gentis morem.—Ignatius.

rest, lest otherwise the activity thereof might set the others in combustion; so the pope disposed this hot violent-spirited emperor far off, and engaged him in a distant and dangerous war out of the borders of Europe.

Frederick smelled the project of his holiness, being also master in the art of dissembling, though he must acknowledge the pope his senior in that faculty; wherefore he deferred the performance of his promise and his voyage into Palestine from month to month, and year to year, wisely gaining time by losing it.

The truth was, he was not yet ripe for such an expedition.

The pope was afraid of his valour, he of the pope's treachery, and more feared him behind his back than the Turk before his face. He was loath to let go the eagle he had in hand, to catch the little bird that was in the bush. Wherefore as yet he refused to go, pleading that the eight years' truce which King Bren had made with the Turks was not yet expired; before which time to fight against them was to fight against God and conscience; and that it was no way to propagate the faith by breach of faith.

Pope Honorius continued still to put him in mind of his promise; yea, he rubbed his memory so roughly, he fetched off the skin with his threats and menaces. But before Frederick's journey began, Honorius's life ended [March 19], and Gregory IX. succeeded him, who at the first dash excommunicated the emperor for his delay.

Know by the way, that his namesake Gregory VII. (otherwise Hildebrand) first handseled his excommunication on Henry IV. Before his time the imperial majesty (what is observed of the seal, that it is never hit with thunder) was never fulminated against with excommunication; afterward nothing more usual, till the commonness of those thunderbolts caused their contempt, and the emperors' natures were so used to this physic it would not work with them. Of late his holiness is grown more advised, very sparingly using them, especially against protestant princes, counting it policy to hold that weapon within the scabbard which hath no other edge but what is given it by the opinion of those against whom it is used.

Frederick at last cometh forth of Germany with his army, marcheth through Italy, cometh to Brindisi, where the plague seizeth on his men, whereof died the landgrave of Thuringia [September 13], and others. Soon after he fell very desperately sick himself, which stayed his journey many months.

It went near to the pope that the emperor was so near to him; his case now was worse than formerly, for he had roused the lion out of his den, but could not get him into the net. His sickness must either be more or less to do good. And the pope having no variety of weapons, excommunicated him afresh, pretending Frederick's disease was only the cramp of laziness, and that he was sick to do good, but sound to do mischief, as appeared by his unjust seizing on the goods of Louis landgrave of Thuringia, late deceased.

The emperor protested his innocency, accused the pope's injustice, putting himself on the trial of all Christian princes, to whom he wrote letters. At last health came, and Frederick departed [Aug. 11, 1228], bearing up with his navy for Palestine. The pope hearing thereof, belibelled him more foully than ever before, because like an undutiful son he departed without his father's blessing, being not absolved and reconciled to his mother the church.

CHAP. XXXI.—*Frederick recovereth all Palestine and Jerusalem without Expense of Time or Blood.*

SEE how God's blessing goeth along with the pope's curses! The fame of Frederick's valour and maiden fortune, never as yet spotted with ill success, like a harbinger hastening before, had provided victory to entertain him at his arrival; yea, this emperor, swifter than Cæsar himself, overcame before he came over into Palestine.

At this time the state of the Turks in Syria was very aguish, and Frederick's coming put them into a shaking fit. Coradin was dead, his children in minority, the Turkish souldans factious, boiling in enmity one against another¹. Whereupon the sultan of Babylon, who was of chiefest authority, and governed Syria, proffered Frederick so' honourable conditions as he might desire, but could never hope for: namely, to restore unto him Jerusalem and all Palestine, in as full and ample a manner as it was possessed by Baldwin IV., before Saladin subdued it; to set all Christian captives at liberty, provided that the Turks might have access to the sepulchre (though not lodging in the city but suburbs, and that in small numbers at a time), there to do their devotions, they also having a knowledge of, and giving an honour to Christ, though no better than ignorance and dishonour of him.

Frederick, before he ratified any thing by oath, sent to

¹ Centuriat.

have the pope's approbation, who ill entreated and imprisoned his messengers, denied them audience, and contemptuously tore the emperor's letters². Wherefore Frederick without, yea, against his holiness's consent, concluded a ten years' truce with the sultan; and on Easter day triumphantly entering Jerusalem, crowned himself king with his own hands³ [1229]. For Gerard patriarch of Jerusalem, and Oliver master of the Templars, with all the clergy, absented themselves; neither was there any mass sung in the city as long as the emperor being excommunicated remained there⁴.

See that produced as it were in an instant, which the succession of many years could not perform, all the Holy Land recovered! Some gallants perchance (whose curious palates count all conquests dry meat which are not juiced with blood) will dispraise this emperor's victory for the best praise thereof, because it was so easily gotten without drawing his sword for it. But they deserve to go naked, who scorn to wear good clothes if they cost not dear.

The Templars were vexed at heart that they had no partnership in the glory of this action; yea, this touched their copyhold. Had they lived lazy thus long in Palestine, sucking the sweet of Christendom to no purpose⁵? See Frederick, with few men, little money, less time, as master of his craft, had finished that which these bunglers had so long in vain been fumbling about!

Wherefore they, wanting true merit to raise themselves to the pitch of Frederick's honour, sought by false detraction to depress him to the depth of their own baseness; defaming him, as if he conspired with the sultan to the ruin of all Christianity. In the mean time the Christians every where built and repaired the cities of Palestine, being now resigned into their hands. Joppa and Nazareth they strongly fortified: the walls of Jerusalem were repaired, the churches therein adorned, and all public edifices either wholly cast their skin with the snake, or at leastwise renewed their bill with the eagle, having their fronts either built or beautified. But new tackling to an old rotten keel will never make serviceable ship. Short were the smiles of this city, which, groaning under God's old curse, little joyed herself in this her new bravery.

² Centuriat. ³ Matth. Paris, in anno 1229, p. 480.

⁴ Matth. Paris, in anno 1229, p. 479. ⁵ Idem, ibidem.



BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.—*Frederick battered with the Pope's Force, and undermined with his Fraud, leaveth Palestine, and returneth into Italy.*

THUS the Christians' affairs in Palestine were in good case and possibility of improvement [1229]. But the pope knew he should catch no fish if the waters were thus clear; wherefore he stirred up John Bren, Frederick's father-in-law (guess whether his plots ran not low when he used such dregs) to raise a rebellion in Italy against him.

His holiness spread a false report of purpose, that Frederick was dead. Who would think there were so much substance in a shadow? This vain rumour wrought real effects, strengthening Frederick's foes with hopes, and staggering his friends with fear and uncertainties. Bren, striking the iron whilst it was hot, won many places from the emperor. And though Time soon after was delivered of her daughter Truth, yet the confutation came too late, to shut the door when the steed was stolen; the pope having attained his ends, and served his turn already.

A jubilee of liberty was proclaimed to all the emperor's subjects, and they dispensed with from the pope for their allegiance to him. Milan, and many other cities in Italy, formerly imperial, danced at this music, made a foot-cloth of their master's livery, and from this time dated themselves free states. Here was brave gleaning, where all ran away with whole sheaves; where robbery was privileged for lawful purchase. And the pope, wise enough not so to give away the pie but to keep the best corner for himself, carved all Apulia for his own part.

Whilst hostility in Italy, treason beset Frederick in Syria: the Templars intimated to the sultan his privy project to wash himself in Jordan, that so he might be surprised. But the sultan (no doubt out of pity to see a lion caught in a fox-trap, there being a consanguinity of all princes, and the royal blood which runneth in their veins causing a sympathy of majesty betwixt them) scorned to advantage himself by treachery, and sent their letters to Frederick, who afterwards used the Templars, and generally all the

ergy in Palestine (counting them accomplices with the pope) coarsely, not to say cruelly.

At last having confirmed his ten years' truce, and having appointed Reinold duke of Bavaria his lieutenant in Syria, without noise he cometh into Europe; for to return triumphantly in state had been but an alarm to awaken envy, and a warning piece for his enemies to prepare against him. He outsailed fame itself, landing in Italy in person before he arrived there in report. Then the love of his loyal subjects, hitherto rather covered than quenched, appeared; and though formerly forced to a contrary motion, returned now quickly to their own prince, their proper centre.

Within fifteen days, assisted with the duke of Spoleto, Frederick recovered all which was won from him, and unravelled the fair web of John Bren's victory, even to the very hem thereof.

Then was all Italy (resembled by geographers, for the fashion thereof, to a man's leg) troubled with the incurable bout of schism and faction: not a city of note in it which was not dichotomized into the sect of the Guelfes, which favoured the pope, and Gibellines, which adhered to the emperor.

<i>Guelfes for the Pope.</i>	<i>Gibellines for the Emperor.</i>	<i>Guelfes for the Pope.</i>	<i>Gibellines for the Emperor.</i>
IN ROME.		IN GENOA.	
Ursini	Columnnienses	Fosci	Spinolæ
Labellii	Frangepanes	Grimaldi	Adurnii
	Cæsarini	Fregosii	Dorii
IN FLORENCE.		IN BONONIA.	
Adimarii	Pazii	Caneduli	Bentivoli
Bondelmontii	Uberti	Pepuli	Malvecii
Amidei	Donati	Marescotii	
Cerchii	Albicii		
Riccii	Strozi		
Medicei	Salviati		
Pactii			
IN LUCCA.		IN FERRARA.	
Interminelli	Obicii	Estenses	Saligureri
IN PADUA.		IN MILAN.	
	Carrarii	Vicecomites	Turregiani
		IN MANTUA.	
		Gonzagæ	Bonacursii ¹

¹ These are collected out of Lampad. Mellif. Hist. part 3, p. 303.

I will not quarrel with the tradition, that elves and goblin in our English tongue, had their first original from the depravation of the names of Guelfes and Gibellines². If sure I am, what now we make *terrificamenta infantum* scarecrows to affright children, were then true harpies to devour men.

I would farther prosecute these discords ; and also show how Frederick was forced to ask pardon of him who had most wronged him, and dearly to purchase his absolution from the pope (for though this emperor's heart was as hard as stone, yet was it furrowed, dented, and hollowed at last with the pope's constant dropping and incessant raining of curses upon him); but I dare wander no farther in this subject, lest any should question my pass; but return back to the Holy Land.

CHAP. II.—*The Tartars first appearing in the World affright both Christians and Turks. Of their Name and Nature. Whether Turks or Tartars be easier convertible to the true Religion.*

REINOLD duke of Bavaria, being left Frederick's lieutenant in Syria, wisely discharged his office, and preserved the peace entire which was concluded with the sultan of Babylon. But the Templars sought by all means to bring this ten years' truce to an untimely end; which was as bad as a Lent to them, wherein they must fast from fighting, the meat and drink of turbulent spirits. These counting all lukewarm which were not scalding hot, condemned Reinold for want of zeal in the holy war, and gave him many a lift to heave him from his place; but still he sat sure, poised with his own gravity. Nor did the enmity of Henry king of Cyprus much trouble him, who challenged the principality of Antioch, as next of kin to the prince deceased: for Reinold met and defeated him in battle, and bestowed Antioch on Frederick, base son to Frederick the emperor¹ [1232].

But that which kept both Christians and Turks in awe and made them willing mutually to observe the truce, was the fear of the Tartars, a fierce nation, which now had their first flight out of their own nest into the neighbouring countries.

These Tartarians, anciently called Scythians, inhabit the northern part of Asia, a country never conquered by any of the monarchs, privileged from their victorious arms chiefly

² Sir John Harrington.

¹ Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 16

by its own barrenness: for except soldiers were ambitious of hunger and cold, here is nothing to countervail their pains of an invasion; yea, no meat to maintain them. It is true, rhubarb the best of drugs groweth in this the worst of countries: but soldiers seek rather for food than physic when they invade a country. A greater part of their land is undiscovered, though map-makers, rather than they will have their maps naked and bald, do periwig them with false hair, and fill up the *vacuum* (especially towards the north) with imaginary places of *Ung*, and *Gog*, and the plains of *Bargu*²: so true it is what one saith wittily in the comedy, "that Phantastes, the servant of Geographus, travelled farther beyond the arctic circle than ever his master durst."

If it be surest to follow the most, the stream of writers make it called Tartaria from the river Tartar; but Europe and Asia will by woful experience justify the etymology, if deduced from *Tartarus*, Hell. For when the spring-tides of this nation overflowed the banks, hell might seem to have broken loose, and to have sent so many devils abroad.

As for those that count them the offspring of the ten tribes of Israel, which Salmanaser led away captive, because *Tatari* or *Totari* signifieth in the Hebrew and Syriac tongue, a *residue* or *remnant*, learned men have sufficiently confuted it³. And surely it seemeth a forced and overstrained deduction, to farfetch the name of Tartars from a Hebrew word, a language so far distant from them. But no more hereof: because perchance herein the woman's reason hath a masculine truth; and the Tartarians are called so, because they are called so. It may be, curious etymologists (let them lose their wages who work in difficult trifles) seek to reap what was never sown, whilst they study to make those words speak reason, which are only *voces ad placitum*, imposed at pleasure.

Under their new name Tartarians, they keep their old nature of Scythians, fierce, cruel; yea, sometimes, instead of other meat, making man their meat. One humour they have, much affecting the owl⁴, a bird which other nations scorn and hate, as the usher of ill luck. The occasion was this:—A king of Tartary, sought for by his enemies, hid himself in a bush, whither his foes came to seek him; when

² See Mercator's maps.

³ See Brierwood's *Inquiries*, chap. 13.

⁴ Sabell. *Enn.* 9, lib. 6, p. 391.

presently an owl flew out of the place: whereupon they desisted from further search, conceiving that that anchorite bird proclaimed nothing was there but solitude and desolation. Hence in gratitude they never count themselves more gay than when their helmets are hung with owls' feathers. Whereat I should strange more, but that I find this fowl dedicated to Minerva, the goddess of wit⁵, and that Athens (schoolmistress of the world) counted it a token of victory. The king of these Tartarians styleth himself the great cham, and is monarch of a great part of the world in possession, of the rest in imagination. He taketh and his subjects give him little less than divine honour; who in other things at this time were pure pagans and idolaters. Now their country, which is like a poor man whose common is overstocked with children, swarming with more bees than hives, sent their superfluous numbers to seek their fortunes amongst the Christians. They needed no steel armour who had iron bodies. Only with bows, cruelty, and multitude they overran Lithuania, Podolia, Polonia, and those countries which are the east boundaries of Europe. Others took their way southward into Asia, committing outrages as they went; and, sensible how incomparably their own country was surpassed for pleasure and profit by these new lands (blame not their judgment if they preferred a palace before a prison), they little cared to return home.

Their incursions into Europe were so far and frequent, that Pope Innocent IV., about the year 1245, began to fear them in Italy. Wherefore he sent Askelin, a friar much admired in that age, with three others, into Tartary, to convert that nation to Christianity. Where Askelin, instead of teaching them the elements of our religion, laid this foundation, to amplify to them the power of the pope, setting him out in his full dimensions, how he was above all men in the Christian world. A good nurse, to feed infants, instead of milk, with such dry bones: enough almost to affright them from entering into our church, seeing such a giant as they painted the pope to stand before the door.

But Baiothnoi, chief captain of the Tartarian army (for they were not admitted to speak with the great cham himself), cried quits with this friar, outvying him with the greatness and divinity of their cham; and sent back by them a blunt letter:—

“Pope, know this: thy messengers came and brought

⁵ Vide Erasm. Adag. in *Noctua volat.*

letters to us ; thy messengers spake great words ; we know not whether thou enjoinedst them, or whether they spake of themselves : and in thy letters thou writest thus, Many men you kill, slay, and destroy." At last he thus concluded : " If thou wilt set upon our land, water, and patrimony, it behoveth that thou, pope, in thy proper person come unto us ; and that thou come to him who containeth the face of the whole earth ;" meaning their great cham⁶.

Never did his holiness so meet with his match before. Hedurst not meet the great cham of the east, his competitor in the imaginary monarchy of the world, to try whose title was truest. Let others tear their skins, he would sleep in a whole one. And indeed that shepherd loved his flock of Christians better, than by his absence in a long journey into Tartary to expose them to the wolves. And so the conversion of Tartary at that time was disappointed.

It is a pretty *quære*, whether Turks or Tartars be easier convertible to the Christian religion : I mean *ex parte objecti* ; for otherwise all things are equally easy to an infinite agent. Now it seemeth the Tartars are reducible with most facility to our religion ; for pure Paganism and native infidelity, like white cloth, will take the tincture of Christianity ; whereas the Turks are soiled and stained with the irreligious religion of Mahometanism, which first with much pains must be scoured out of them. And though they may seem to be in some forwardness to conversion, because they have a kind of knowledge and reverence of Christ, yet the best joint of their belief must be broken before it can be well set, and every drop of their present religion pumped out before true faith be infused into them. And experience, the most competent witness herein, hath proved, that afterwards more Tartars, both private men and princes, than Turks of either condition, have embraced Christianity. Enough at this time ; we shall have occasion too soon to speak more of the Tartars.

CHAP. III.—*The Greeks recover their Empire from the Latins. The Holy War thereby much endamaged.*

IT was conceived that it would be much beneficial to the pilgrims in their voyages to Palestine, that the Latins were lately possessed of the Grecian empire ; for what is saved is gained : and grant that the Latins in Greece should

⁶ Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 2. Sed ex Vincent. lib. 31, cap. 51.

not actually assist in the holy war, yet it was a considerable advantage what all justly expected, that pilgrims should now have safe and secure passage through Greece, the pit-fall which formerly had devoured so many.

But these fair hopes soon miscarried. For what through the celerity of Theodorus Lascaris, and the gravity of John Ducas his son-in-law, who reigned as Grecian emperors in Nice, the Greeks recovered every foot of ground that the Latins had won from them: only the Venetians, being good at holdfast, kept their portion when all others had spent theirs, and enjoy Candia to this day. This is imputed to their discretion in their choice, who, in the sharing of this empire amongst the western princes, refused the continent countries (though greater in extent and richer in cities), and chose rather the islands, which, being as little worlds in themselves, were most capable of entire fortifications, especially in their way, who were most powerful at sea.

Sixty years almost did the Latins make a hard shift to hold Constantinople, under five succeeding emperors:—1. Baldwin I. earl of Flanders [1203]; 2. Henry his brother [1205]; 3. Peter, count of Auxerre in France, Henry's son-in-law [1216]; 4. Robert [1221]; 5. Baldwin II. and last [1238]. An example which the observers of the ominous circulation or return of names allege, that as a Baldwin was the first, so a Baldwin was the last Latin emperor in Greece.

Of these, the first Baldwin had his hands and feet cut off, and died in a ditch; Peter, invited to a feast, paid the shot with his life; the other three died without any violence, but with much misery. And thus their conquest of Greece, like a little sprig stuck into the ground, did sprout at the first whilst it had any sap in it, but then withered for want of a root.

Indeed it was impossible long to continue; for when the generation of the primitive adventurers in this action were dead, there wanted another to succeed them; and the countries whence they came were so far off, that supplies of Latin people came thither very slowly: only Venice well peopled her parts from the vicinity of her dominions. And that number of soldiers which is sufficient by sudden conquest to overrun a country, is incompetent, without a second edition of new supplies, to make good, manage, and maintain it; especially being to meddle with the Greeks, far exceeding them in number, subject only out of fear, longing daily for their liberty, and opportunity to recover it.

Let never any pilgrims hereafter make Greece their inn in their journey to Palestine. Yea, also at this time the furnace of the Grecian jealousy was made seven times hotter; for besides this civil, an ecclesiastical and spiritual breach happened betwixt them and the Latins, which we come now to describe.

CHAP. IV.—*The incurable Breach betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches, with the Occasion thereof.*

HITHERTO Grecians and Latins lived together in Palestine in some tolerable correspondency; differing in judgment, but complying in affections; as counting themselves two several sides, yet both making up the body of Christians. But now, by an unhappy discord they were irreconcilably parted asunder, to the great advantage of the Turks and prejudice of the holy war. We will fetch this flame from the first spark; and, though we go far about, the length of the journey will be recompensed by the goodness of the way.

Anciently in the primitive time the church of Rome was esteemed the first and chiefest of all others, but without any jurisdiction above them. Because that was the imperial city and queen of the world, therefore the church therein was highest in account; as the candle which is in the fairest candlestick is always set above the rest (though otherwise equal unto it in light) at the upper end of the table.

It happened afterward that the emperor removed his seat from Rome to Constantinople; whereupon orphan Rome suddenly decayed (for the emperor's court carried day with it, and left night behind it), was chief mourner at the funerals of her own greatness, and from a pleasant garden turned a wilderness overgrown with Goths, Vandals, and other barbarous weeds; whilst Constantinople, tricked and tired herself, started up in an instant great, rich, and stately; insomuch that John her patriarch claimed to be universal bishop over all other. Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome, stoutly withstood him, protesting that he was the usher of Antichrist who assumed that swelling title; wherein he heated the brand to mark his successor with: for Boniface (save one, the next), pope of Rome, so dealt with Phocas the emperor of Constantinople, that he got himself confirmed universal bishop over the whole world. A chaplain and a patron well met, both usurpers, supporting one another (like stones in an arch) with their reciprocal aid; Phocas held Boniface in his chair, and Boniface kept Phocas in his

throne. And thus was the pope of Rome first possessed of his primacy both of dignity and authority, both of precedence and of power and jurisdiction over all other churches. As for his pretence, to challenge it by commission from Christ and succession from Peter, this string to his bow is so full of galls, frets, and knots, it cannot hold, and is broken by many learned divines.

However, Constantinople rather overborne than overcome, for want rather of strength than stomach, ever rebelled, or rather resisted (for no rebellion against usurpation) Rome's supremacy (especially when she found herself befriended with any advantage) for many hundred years after.

It happened (to come to the matter in hand) that a Grecian archbishop went to Rome, there to have his confirmation¹; where the court demanded of him such unreasonable fees (toll more than the grist) that the prelate perceived it would weaken him to be confirmed, and shake his estate to settle him in his bishopric. Home therefore he cometh with a loud alarm against the extortions of Rome, and mustereth together many of his countrymen; who hereupon for ever withdrew their obedience from Rome, and threw off that heavy yoke they could not bear, hereafter owning her for their sister, not mother.

It may seem strange that the Roman court, being here justly taxed for extortion, would not amend it. But how often soever she be told of her dirty face, she will never wash it: for reforming would argue a former fault; and they feared, if they yielded themselves guilty in one point, it would shake the whole fabric of their credit. Besides, if the Grecians had received satisfaction and redress in this grievance, it would have given them pretence to prepare more requests, and to think that they also were due. Lastly, no strength of persuasion will draw men from those sins which are glued unto them by their profit. Thus the avarice of the Romish officers (as of late the shameful shameless covetousness of their indulgencemongers occasioned Luther's falling from them) caused the Grecians wholly to renounce their subjection to that see; and Germanus patriarch of Constantinople now grew absolute of himself, without any dependency on the pope.

His holiness, despairing to reduce them by fair means, proclaimed war against them. And as formerly against the Albigenes, so now against the Grecians, resolved to send an

¹ Matth. Paris, in anno 1237, p. 622.

army of croised soldiers²: it being his custom to make the secular power little better than a hangman to execute those he should please to condemn; yea, he hath turned the back of the sword towards infidels, and the edge against Christians dissenting from him in small matters. But few voluntaries were found for this service, because of a pious horror and religious reluctance against so odious an employment: only in Cyprus³ (I believe in a private persecution rather than open war) some Grecians were put to death; the pope using the same severity against wolves and wandering sheep, foes and prodigal children.

CHAP. V.—*Wherein the Greeks dissent from the Latins.*

What must charitably be conceived of them.

BESIDES their rejecting of the pope's both ecclesiastical and temporal tyranny, the Greeks differ from the Latins in other matters of moment: for they maintain the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father alone. As for their other tenets, they stand in some middle terms of opinion betwixt papists and protestants; yet so, that they approach nearer the papists in more, to us in more weighty and dominative points. With Rome they concur in transubstantiation, in the whole sacrifice of the mass, in praying to saints and for the dead, in auricular confession, in worshiping of pictures (only of Christ and our Lady), but all images they detest; a kind of purgatory they hold, but not in hell or the skirts thereof, nor by any outward torment¹. With us they consent in the sufficiency of the Scriptures to salvation, in denying the infallibility of the church (much more of the pope), the overplus of merits, service understood, indulgences, liberaties out of purgatory, and the like.

Hereupon the Romanists condemn them all for heretics and castaways, killing more than a third of all Christians (as Cain did a quarter of mankind with a blow) with this their uncharitable censure. But heaven-gate was not so easily shut against multitudes when St. Peter himself wore the keys at his girdle. And let us not with rash judging thrust all into the pit of hell whom we see walking near the brink thereof. We shall think better of them if we consider that,

First, their tenets wherein they dissent from the Ro-

² Matth. Paris, in anno 1237, p. 622. ³ Idem, p. 614.

¹ Sir Edw. Sand, Relig. of the West, p. 233, 234.

manists are sound enough, save that of the Holy Ghost. Concerning which it is a useful *quære*, whether, granting the first authors and ringleaders of that error in a bad condition, there be not some favour to be allowed to those who in simplicity succeed to hereditary errors received from their ancestors, if they do not wilfully bar nor bolt their eyes against the beams of the truth, but be willing (as we charitably conceive of the Greeks) to receive and embrace better instruction.

Secondly, the master of the sentences (waited on herein with other learned men²) is of opinion, that in the sense of the Greek church *à Filio* and *per Filium* is no real difference, but a question *in modo loquendi*. Sure it would have grated the foundation, if they had so denied the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as thereby to make an inequality betwixt the two persons; but since their form of speech is, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father by the Son, and is the Spirit of the Son, without making any difference in the consubstantiality of the persons, their doctrine may pass with a favourable interpretation.

Thirdly, our quickest sight in the matters of the Trinity is but one degree above blindness. Wherefore, as concerning it, let our piety lodge there where in other disputes the deceit of sophisters used to nestle itself, namely, *in universalibus*, in large and general expressions, and not descend to curious particulars. To search into the manner of the Spirit's procession is neither manners nor religion; and rather falleth under an awful adoration and belief than an exact and curious inquiry.

Lastly, this their tenet doth not infect any other point in divinity with its poisonous inferences. Some errors are worse in their train than in themselves, which (as the dragon in the Revelation drew down a third part of the stars with his tail), by their bad consequences, pervert other points of religion; but this Grecian opinion (as learned men propound it) concerning the Holy Ghost, hath this happiness, that it is barren, and begetteth no other bad tenets from it, being entire in itself.

More may be alleged for the lessening of this error; but grant it in its full extent, yet surely the moderate judg-

² Bonavent. 1. Sent. dist. 11, art. 1, quæst. 1. Scotus, 1. Sent. dist. 1, quæst. 1. Th. Aquin. part 1, quæst. 36, art. 2.

ment of that learned divine³, whose memory smelleth like a field the Lord hath blessed, will abide trial; who in effect thus concludeth, Their schisms are sinful, wicked, and inexcusable; their doctrine dangerous, but not so damnable as excluding from all possibility of salvation.

As for the observation of a schoolman⁴, that afterwards when the Turks won Constantinople on Whitsunday, the day dedicated to the memorial of the Holy Spirit, as if God therein pointed at the sin of the Grecians in dishonouring the Holy Ghost; we leave it to the reader's discretion, desiring rather to be sceptical than definitive in the causes of God's judgments.

CHAP. VI.—*A comparative Estimate of the Extent of the Greek and Latin Church. What Hope of Reconcilement betwixt them. The Influence this Breach had on the Holy War.*

[F that religion were surely the best which is of the greatest latitude and extent, surveyors of land were fitter than divines to judge of the best religion. Neither is it any matter of great moment to measure the greatness of either church; but because Rome maketh her universality such a masterpiece to boast of, let us see if the Greek church may not outshoot her in her own bow.

If we begin with the Grecian church in Africa under the patriarch of Alexandria, thence proceeding into Asia, and stretch a compass about Syria, Armenia, Asia the Less, with Cyprus, Candia, and other islands in the Midland Sea, and so come into Greece; if hence we go into Russia and Muscovy (who, though differing in ceremonies, dissent not in doctrine, as a sundry dialect maketh not a several language) to take only entire kingdoms, and omit parcels: it is a larger quantity of ground than that the Romish religion doth stretch to, since Luther cut so large a collop out of it, and withdrew North Europe from obedience to his holiness.

Perchance the Romanists may plead they have lately improved the patrimony of their religion by new purchases in both Indies; but who knoweth not that those people, rather watered than baptized, affrighted with cruelty into Christianity, deserve not to be accounted, settled, and well-rounded professors of their religion?

³ In his third book Of the Church, chap. 5.

⁴ Estius, dist. 11, § 2.

As for reconciliation betwixt the Grecians and Latins, is utterly improbable, except the Greeks submit to the pope's primacy, which they will never do. No hope the of their meeting together, when neither party will stir ste towards other.

True it is, some forty years since (anno 1594), the bishop of Little Russia (a country following the eastern church but under the king of Poland), on condition they would accept the pope's supremacy¹, were dispensed with, and permitted in other matters to adhere to the Greek church and keep union with it; the pope manifesting herein, that he aimeth not so much at the reduction of the Greeks to the truth as to his own obedience.

Besides the hatred they have against the pope's pride another great hinderance of the union is the small intercourse the eastern Christians have or desire to have with the western. They live amongst the Turks, and are grown to be contented slaves; and, having long since parted with the hopes, now almost have lost their desire of liberty.

We must not forget how some fifty years ago solemn news was reported in Rome, that the patriarch of Alexandria with all the Greek church in Africa, by their ambassador had submitted and reconciled themselves to the pope, and from him received absolution and benediction². All which was a politic lie, perchance therefore reported, that it might make impression in the minds, and raise and confirm the spirits of the vulgar, who easily believe all that their betters tell them. And though afterwards this report was controlled to be false, yet men's spirits, then being cold, were not so sensible of it as before; and the former news came into many men's ears who never heard afterwards of the check and confutation thereof. Nor is there any state in the world that maketh such use and advantage, as the papacy doth, of false news. To conclude: as it is a maxim in philosophy, *ex quibus constamus, ex iisdem nutrimur*; a great part of their religion consisting of errors and falsehoods, it is suitable that accordingly it should be kept up and maintained with forgeries and deceits.

To return to Palestine: this rent (not in the seam but in the whole cloth) betwixt these churches was no mean hinderance to the holy war. Formerly the Greeks in Syria were not so clearly cut asunder from the Latins, but that they had

¹ Possevin in *Apparatu sacro*, in Rutheni. See Brierwood *Inquiries*, chap. 18. ² Sir Edw. Sand. *West. Relig.* p. 100

together by one great sinew in the common cause, agreeing against the Turk the enemy to both; but since this last breach, the Greeks did in their desires propend and incline to the Turks, being better contented they should conquer, from whom they should have fair quarter, free exercise of their religion, and secure dwelling in any city, paying a set tribute; than the Latins, who they feared would force their consciences, and bring their souls in subjection to the pope's supremacy. Expect we then never hereafter, that either their hearts or hands should afford any assistance to our pilgrims in their designs.

Some conceive³, that at this day if the western Christians should stoutly invade Turkey with any likelihood to prevail, the Greeks therein would run to aid them. But others are of a contrary judgment; considering, first, the inveterate and inlaid hatred (not to be washed off) they bear the Latins; secondly, the jealousy they have that they will never keep promise with them, who have always a warrant dormant from the pope to break all contracts prejudicial to the Romish church; thirdly, that custom and long continuance in slavery have so hardened and brawned their shoulders, the yoke doth not wring them so much; yea, they had rather suffer the Turks, being old full flies, to suck them, than to hazard their galled backs to new hungry ones; finding by experience, that they themselves live on better terms of servitude under the Turk, less grated and grinded with exactions than some of their countrymen do under the Latins; for instance, in Zante and Candia under the Venetians.

CHAP. VII.—*Theobald King of Navarre maketh an unsuccessful Voyage into Palestine.*

THE ten years' truce by this time [1238] was expired, which Frederick made with the Turks; and Reinold viceroys of Palestine, by instructions from him, concluded another truce of the same term with them¹. He saw that this young Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, like an infant, would thrive best with sleeping with peace and quietness. Nor was it any policy for him to move at all, where there was more danger to hurt than hope to help their present estate.

³ Sir Edw. Sand. West. Relig. p. 242.

¹ Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 16.—Decennales inducias nuper denuò confirmârat.

But though this peace was honourable and profitable, having no fault but that Frederick made it; yet the Templars, who did not relish the father, must needs distaste the child. They complained that this peace was not used as a slumber to refresh the soldiers' spirits, but as a lethargy to benumb their valour; and chiefly snarled at this indignity, that the Turks had access to the Temple of the Sepulchre, and that goats had free commonage in the sheep's pasture. Wherefore Pope Gregory, to despite the Emperor Frederick, caused the Dominicans and Franciscans, his trumpeters, to incite people to the holy war². These were two twin orders, but the Dominican the eldest, which now were no sooner hatched in the world, but presently chirped in the pulpits. In that age sermons were news, and meat for princes, not common men; yea, the Albigenes with their preaching had drowned the voices of secular priests, if these two orders had not helped to out-noise those supposed heretics. These amplified with their rhetoric the calamity of the Christians, tyranny of the Turks, merit of the cause, probability of success; performing their parts with such gravity, show of devotion, accents of passion, not glued on for the present purpose but so natural as from true affection, that many were wooed to undertake the voyage [1239]; principally, Theobald king of Navarre, Almerick earl of Montfort, Henry of Champagne, Peter earl of Bretagne, with many others of inferior rank.

Ships they had none; wherefore they were fain to shape their passage by land through Greece; where they were entertained with treachery, famine, and all the miseries which wait on distressed armies. These came last that way, and (I may say) shut the door; for no Christian army ever after went that tedious journey by land.

Having passed the Bosphorus, they marched into Bithynia; thence through Galatia they came unto the mountain Taurus, where they were much damnified by the Turks, who fell on and off upon them, as they were advised by their own advantages. The Christians desired no other gift but that a set battle might be given them, which the Turks would not grant, but played at distance and would never close. But with much ado the Christians recovered to Antioch, having scarce a third part of them left; their horses all dead, and themselves scarce mounted on their legs miserably weak; as what the mercy of sword, plague, and famine, had pleased to spare.

² Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 16.

Hence the Templars conducted them to Gaza, where they fell on foraging the country of the sultan, assaulting no places which were of strength, or honour to subdue, but only spoiled poor villages, which counted themselves walled with the truce as yet in force. Abundance of wealth they got, and were now late returning home, when after their plentiful supper a dear and sharp reckoning was called for. Behold, the Turks in great numbers fell upon them near unto Gaza, and the Christians down with their bundles of spoil, and out with their swords, bravely defending themselves till such time as the night parted the fray. Here they committed a great error, and (as one may say) a neglect in over-diligence; for, instead of reposing themselves to rest, and appointing a set watch, they all lay in a manner *perdues*, no one slumbering all night, but attending their enemies; contrary to the rules of an army, which with Argus should never have all its eyes wake or sleep together. Next morning when the Turks, whose numbers were much increased, set upon them, alas! they being but few to many, faint to fresh, were not able to make any forcible resistance; yet, what they could not pay in present, they pawned their lives for; that their arms being too weak for their hearts, they were rather killed than conquered. Earl Henry was slain, Almerick taken prisoner, the king of Navarre escaped by the swiftness of his Spanish gennet; which race, for their winged speed, the poets feigned to be begot of the wind.

Meantime the other Christians looked on, and saw their brethren slaughtered before their eyes; and yet though they were able to help them, were not able to help them, their hands being tied with the truce, and Reinold charging them no way to infringe the peace concluded with the sultan. Hereupon many cursed him as the Christians' cut-throat; he as fast condemned the king of Navarre and his army for breaking the truce. And though the papal faction pleaded that the former peace concluded not these late adventurers, and that it was only made with Frederick the emperor, yet he representing the whole body of Christianity, all the bundle of their shifts could not piece out a satisfactory answer, but that they were guilty of faith-breaking.

Home hastened the king of Navarre with a small retinue, clouding himself in privateness; as that actor who cometh off with the dislike of the spectators stealeth as invisibly as he may into the tiring-house. Expectation, that friendly foe, did him much wrong; and his performance fell the lower, because men heightened their looking for great matters from him.

CHAP. VIII.—*Richard Earl of Cornwall saileth to the Holy Land. His Performance there, and the Censure thereof.*

FIFTEEN days after the departure of Theobald [October 11th, 1240], Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry III. then king of England, landed at Ptolemais. This prince was our English Crassus or Cræsus; Cornwall was his Indies, where he turned tin into gold and silver. So well monied he was, that for ten years together he might for every day expend a hundred marks². So that England never since had together a poorer king and a richer subject.

Before he began his voyage, he craved a subsidy of prayers from the monks of St. Albans; yea, scarce was there any convent appearing for piety, to whose devotions he recommended not himself, counting that ship to sail the surest which is driven with the breath of goodly men's prayers. Theodoricus lord prior of the English Hospitallers with many other barons and brave soldiers attending him passed through France, and was there honourably entertained by King Louis.

Being come to the Mediterranean Sea, the pope's legate brought him a flat countermand, that he must go no further but instantly return. Richard at first was astonished hereat; but quickly his anger got the mastery of his amazement, and he fell on fuming. Was this Christ's vicar? Unlike was he to him, who was thus unlike to himself, who would say and unsay, solemnly summon, then suddenly cashier his holy soldiers. This was deluding of people's devotions with false alarms, to make them put their armour on to put it off again. As for his own self, he had vowed this voyage, his honour and treasure was engaged therein and the pope should not blast his settled resolutions with a breath: his ships were manned, victualled, and sailing forward; and in such great actions the setting forth is more than half the journey³.

All know his holiness to be too wary an archer to shoo away his arrows at nothing. He had a mark herein, a plot in this restraint, but that too deep for others to fathom. It could not be this, to make this rich earl (a fish worth angling for) to commute his voyage into money, and to buy

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 670.

² Camden, in Cornwall.

³ Matth. Paris, in Hen. III. p. 719.

a dispensation of his holiness to stay at home, as formerly he had served many meaner pilgrims. Surely, though the pope's covetousness might have prompted, his wisdom would have dissuaded him from a project spun with so coarse a thread.

On saileth Earl Richard, and safely arriveth at Ptolemais ; where he is well welcomed, especially by the clergy, solemnly singing, *Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord*⁴. He proclaimed, no Christian should depart for want of pay ; for he would entertain any, and give them good wages that would do work in this war. But he found the Christians here shivered into several factions, and the two great orders, Hospitallers and Templars, two great confusions of the holy cause. Of these the Hospitallers were the seniors in standing, their original being dated eighteen years before the Templars, and therefore challenged superiority. But that which made the younger brother so brisk was, that he was his father's darling. The Templars in all their broils had support from the pope, because the others were suspected to have a smack of the imperial faction. This made them active, daring, offering of affronts ; and what countrymen soever the Templars were, they were always Italians, that is, true to the triple crown. These, being maddened with ambition, were the more outrageous for their high fare (their great revenues), and deserved to be dieted with a poorer subsistence, except they would have used their strength better. Our earl knew, to please one side would certainly displease the other, and to please both would probably please neither.

Wherefore he managed his matters entirely to himself, without relating to either of the parties, taking no ground of their giving, but bowling at the public good by the aim of his own eye.

The sultans in Syria (for the Turkish power there was divided into several sultanies, as those of Damascus, Cracci⁵, Geisser, but Babylon the chiefest), hearing of Richard's preparations, proffered peace unto him. But whilst as yet the conditions were in suspense, Richard fortified Askelon in all the bunch there was not a better key, or harbour of more importance), not only to strength but state, with marble pillars and statues ; though the silent ruins thereof at this day confess not to the beholders that any such cost was ever bestowed there. He also caused the corpses of the Christians

⁴ Matth. Paris, in Hen. III. p. 729.

⁵ Called anciently Arabia Petræa, Tyrius, lib. 21, cap. 5.

killed at the late battle of Gaza, and hitherto unburied, decently to be interred; and appointed an annual salary to a priest to pray for their souls. Hereby he had the happiness with little cost to purchase much credit; and the living being much taken with kindness to the dead, this burying of those Christians with pious persons won him as much repute as if he killed so many Turks.

At last the truce for ten years was concluded with the sultan [1241]; all Christian captives were discharged and set free, many sorts of them restored, and matters for the main reduced to the same estate they were at the first peace with Frederick the emperor; and Richard returning through Sicily and by Rome, where he visited his holiness, safely came home to England, where he was welcomed with bad news, that a discontented Cornish man, banished for his misdemeanours, had found out tin mines in Bohemia⁶; which afterwards more assuaged the swelling of this earl's bags than all his voyage to Palestine; for till that time that metal was only fetched from England, which afforded meat to some foreign countries, and dishes to all.

His voyage was variously censured; the Templars which consented not to the peace, flouted thereat, as if all this while he had laboured about a difficult nothing, and as good never a whit as never the better, for the agreement would never hold long. Others thought he had abundantly satisfied any rational expectation; for he compelled, saith one, the Saracens to truce⁷ (a strange compulsion without violence, except the showing of a scabbard), he restored many to the life of their life, their liberty; which alone was worth all his pains: the peace he concluded was honourable and a cheap olive-branch is better than dear bays.

Two of our English Richards were at Palestine; one famous for drawing his sword, the other his purse. He was also remarkable herein, that he brought all his men and ships safe home (next of kin to a miracle), and none will deny but that in such dangerous adventures a saver is a gainer. One good he got hereby: this journey brought him into play amongst foreign princes; henceforward the beyond sea world took notice of him, and he of it. Never would he have had the face to have courted the crown imperial, if these his travels had not put boldness and audacity into him which made him afterwards a stiff rival to bid for the empire of Germany.

⁶ Matth. Paris, p. 765.

⁷ Camden, in Cornwall.

CHAP. IX.—*The Corasines cruelly sack the City of Jerusalem, and kill the Christians therein.*

ABOUT this time (though we find not the punctual date thereof), happened the death of Reinold, Frederick's lieutenant in Syria, who by his moderation had been a good benefactor to the holy war. But the Templars counted him to want metal, because he would not be mad, and causelessly break the truce with the sultan. In his grave was buried the happiness of the Christians in Palestine: for now the lawless Templars observe no other rule but their own will.

And now the inundation of the Tartarians, in spite of all dams and banks, overran the north of Asia, and many nations fled from their own countries for fear of them. Amongst other the Corasines (called by some Choermines, and Groissoms), a fierce and warlike people, were notwithstanding by the Tartarians forced to forsake their land.

Being thus unkennelled, they had their recourse to the sultan of Babylon, and petitioned him to bestow some habitation upon them. Their suit he could neither safely grant nor deny: a denial would egg their discontents into desperateness, and such sturdy dangerous vagabonds might do much harm; to admit them to be joint tenants in the same country with the Turks, was a present inconvenience, and would be a future mischief¹. Instead therefore of giving them a house, he sent them to a workhouse; yet so, that they apprehended it a great courtesy done unto them: for he bestowed on them all the lands which the Christians held in Palestine: liberal to give away what was none of his, and what the others must purchase before they could enjoy. The sultan encouraged them to invade that country; whose people he pretended were weak and few, the land wealthy and fruitful, so that the conquest would be easy, especially they having his assistance in the present service, and perpetual patronage hereafter.

Animated herewith, in come the Corasines with their wives and children (bringing their households with them to win houses and lands for them,) into Syria, and march directly to Jerusalem; which being a weak and unfortified place, was taken without resistance [1244]. Weak and unfortified! strange! It is confessed on all sides, that Frederick the emperor, and Reinold his lieutenant, spared no

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 851.

expense in strengthening this city; since which time we find no solemn taking it by the Turks; who then can expect less than an impregnable place, where so much cost was sown? Which driveth us to conceive one of these three things; either that the weakness of this city was chiefly in the defenders' hearts; or else that formerly there happened some blind and silent despoiling of this place, not mentioned by authors; or lastly, that Jerusalem was a Jericho, I mean, a place cursed in building, like Pharaoh's lean kine, never a whit the fatter for devouring much meat; and which still went in rags, though her friends bestowed change of raiment upon her.

Thus this city, after that it had been possessed fifteen years by the Christians, was won by this barbarous people, never since regained to our religion. Sleep, Jerusalem, sleep in thy ruins, at this day of little beauty and less strength, famous only for what thou hast been.

The Christians, flying out of Jerusalem with their families, took their course towards Joppa; but looking back, beheld their own ensigns advanced on the city walls, so done in policy by their enemies. Whereupon their credulity thus commented, that their fellows had beaten the Corasines in Jerusalem, and by these banners invited them to return²: but going back, they found but cold (or rather too hot) entertainment, being slain every mother's child of them. Dull nostrils! not to scent so stale and rank a stratagem of their foes, so often used, so easily defeated; not to send some spies to taste the bait before all swallowed it. But men marked out for destruction will run their own heads into the halter.

CHAP. X.—*Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the whole Strength of the Christians, conquered by the Corasines.*

THE desperateness of the disease privilegeeth the taking of any physic. The Christians being now in deep distress, resolved on a dangerous course, but (as their case stood) thought necessary: for they made peace with the sultan of Damascus and Seisser, and with the sultan of Cracci; (these were dynasties in Syria of some good strength, and were at discord with the sultan of Babylon,) and swearing them to be faithful, borrowed an army of their forces, with them jointly to resist the Corasines; seeking,

saith Frederick the emperor¹, to find *fidem in perfidia*, trust in treachery. Many suspected these auxiliary forces; thinking, though the forest wolves fell out with the mountain ones, they would both agree against the sheep.

Robert patriarch of Jerusalem was a most active commander over all. St. Luke's day was the time agreed upon for the fatal battle; near Tiberias was the place. As the Christians were ordering themselves in array, it was questioned in what part of their army their new Turkish assistants should be disposed, and concluded that they should be placed in the front, where, if they did no other good, they would dull the appetite of their enemy's sword. This is thought to have been a notorious error, and cause of their overthrow. For though those soldiers who mean to be false will never be made faithful in what place soever they be bestowed, yet may they be made less dangerous if cast into the body or main battle of the army, whence they have no such scope to fling out, and to take advantage of place to do mischief, as they have either in the front or wings thereof. Thus in Cæsar's time Crassus an experienced general under him being to bid the Gauls battle, *auxiliares copias, quibus ad pugnam non multum confidebat, in mediam aciem collocavit*²; that so being hemmed in before and behind, they might be engaged to fight manfully without starting away. And to instance in later times; our Richard III. (who though he usurped the crown, had, as none will deny, a true title both to prowess and martial policy) marching to Bosworth, placed suspected persons (whose bodies were with him and hearts with Earl Henry) in the midst; and those whom he most trusted, before, behind, and on every side³.

The battle being joined, the Turks ran over to the other side⁴, though some braved them only with cowardliness, not treachery, and that they fled from the battle, but not fell to the enemies. The Christians manfully stood to it, and though overpowered in number, made a great slaughter of their enemies, till at last they were quite overthrown. Of the Teutonic order escaped but three; of three hundred Templars, but eighteen; of two hundred Hospitallers, but nineteen: the patriarch, (to use his own words) whom God reputed unworthy of martyrdom, saved himself by flight, with a few others. And this great overthrow, to omit less partner

¹ In his letter to Richard of Cornwall.

² Cæs. lib. 3. De Bello Gallico.

³ Graft. in Rich. III. p. 102. ⁴ Matth. Paris, p. 834.

causes, is chiefly imputed to the Templars former so often breaking the truce with the sultan of Babylon.

Thus were the Christians conquered by the Corasines, and beaten by a beaten nation; Palestine being won by those who could not keep their own country. Improving this victory they left nothing to the Christians but Tyre, Ptolemais, and Antioch, with some few forts. Soon after, these Corasines elevated herewith fell out with the sultan himself; who in anger rooted out their nation, so that none of their name remained⁵: yea, all writers are silent of them both before this time and ever after⁶: as if God at this very instant had created this people to punish Christians; which service performed, they were annihilated again.

CHAP. XI.—*Louis the Ninth setteth forward against the Turks. The Occasion of his Journey, and his Attendants.*

SOME two years after, Louis the ninth of that name, king of France, came to assist the Christians. The occasion of his voyage this: he had been visited with a desperate sickness, insomuch that all art cried craven, as unable to help him; and the physicians resigned him to divines, to begin with him where they ended; they also gave him over; and for a while he lay in a trance, not the least breath brought news of any life left in him [1245]. Then Blanche the queen mother (and queen of mothers for her care of her son and his kingdom) applied a piece of the cross unto him¹. Thereat (whether thereby, let others dispute) he revived and recovered; and thereupon was croised, and in thankfulness bound himself with a vow to sail to the Holy Land. But his nobility dissuaded him from that design; the dangers were certain, the success would be doubtful of so long a journey; his own kingdom would be left desolate, and many mischiefs, unseen as yet, would appear in his absence; besides, his vow was made in his sickness, whilst reason was scarce as yet in the peaceable possession of his mind, because of the remnant dregs of his disease; it might also be dispensed with by the pope; yea, his deserts did challenge so much from his holiness. King Louis, as persuaded hereat, laid down the cross, to the great comfort and contentment of all the beholders; but

⁵ Matth. Paris, p. 475.

⁶ Except any make them to be Chorasmii a people placed by Athenæus in the east of Parthia.

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 880. Et P. Æmil. in D. Ludov. p. 214.

then altering his countenance, he required the cross should be restored to him again, and vowed to eat no bread until he was recognised with the pilgrim's badge². And because his vow should suffer no diminution or abatement from his disease, now no longer Louis the sick, but Louis the sound undertook the holy war. His nobles seeing him too stiff to be unbent, and counting it a kind of sacrilegious counsel to dissuade him from so pious a work, left him to his own resolutions. There went along with him his two brothers, Charles earl of Anjou, Robert earl of Artois, his own queen, and their ladies, Odo the pope's legate, Hugh duke of Burgundy, William earl of Flanders, Hugh earl of St. Paul, and William Longspath earl of Salisbury, with a band of valiant Englishmen, who went without license from Henry king of England; for in those days this doctrine went current, that their princes' leave was rather of compliment than essential to their voyage, as if the band of this holy war was an acquittance from all others. Our Henry, displeased at this earl's departure, for his disobedience deprived him of his earldom and castle of Salisbury, not suffering that sheep to graze in his pasture which would not own him for a shepherd. William also son to this earl, smarting for his father's fault, never enjoyed that honour³. And though King Henry himself, being a prince of more devotion than policy, did most affectionately tender this holy cause, yet he used this necessary severity towards this earl at this time; first, because it would weaken his land thus to be dispeopled of martial men; secondly, his subjects' forwardness might be interpreted a secret check of his own backwardness in that war; thirdly, the sucking in of foreign air did wean people from their natural prince, and did insensibly usher into their hearts an alienation from their own sovereign, and a dependence on the king of France; lastly, he had some thoughts on that voyage himself, and reserved such prime peers to attend on his own person thither.

1246.] The pope gave to this King Louis his charges, the tenth of the clergy's revenues through France for three years; and the king employed the pope's collectors to gather it, knowing those leeches were the best suckers. Hereupon the states of the clergy were shaved as bare as their crowns, and a poor priest who had but twenty shillings annual pension, was forced to pay two yearly to the king;

² Fox, Martyrolog. p. 293.

³ Camden in Wiltshire.

and this by my author⁴ is made the cause of his following ill success, there being much extortion used by his under officers. No wonder then if the wings of that army did quickly flag, having so heavy a weight of curses hanging upon them. And though money be the sinews of war, yet ill-gotten money, like gouty sinews, rather paineth than strengtheneth. True it is, that this pious king was no way guilty thereof, but such as were under him, and oftentimes the head doth ache for the ill vapours of the stomach. He himself most princely caused to be proclaimed through his realm, If any merchant or other had been at any time injured by the king's exactors, either by oppression or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, showing how, and wherein, and he should be recompensed⁵. How this was performed we find not; but it was a good lenitive plaster to assuage the people's pain for the present.

Having at Lyons took his leave of the pope, and a blessing from him, he marched towards Avignon; where some of the city wronged his soldiers, especially with foul language. Wherefore his nobles desired him that he would besiege the city, the rather because it was suspected that therein his father was poisoned. To whom Louis most Christianly, I come not out of France to revenge my own quarrels, or those of my father or mother, but injuries offered to Jesus Christ⁶. Hence he went without delay to his navy, and committed himself to the sea [Aug. 25, 1248].

CHAP. XII.—*Louis arriveth in Cyprus; the Conversion of the Tartarians hindered; the Treachery of the Templars.*

SAILING forward with a prosperous wind, he safely arrived in Cyprus [Sept. 20]; where Alexius Lusignan king of the island entertained him according to the stateliest hospitality. Here the pestilence (one of the ready attendants on great armies) began to rage; and though a French writer¹ saith it was *minax magis quàm funesta*, yet we find in others, that two hundred and forty gentlemen of note died by force of the infection.

Hither came the ambassadors from a great Tartarian prince (but surely not from Cham himself), invited by the fame of King Louis's piety, professing to him, that he had renounced his Paganism, and embraced Christianity; and

⁴ Matth. Paris, in anno 1246, p. 943.

⁵ Fox, Martyrolog. p. 292.

⁶ Matth. Paris, p. 995.

¹ P. Æmil. in Ludov. IX. p. 215.

that he intended to send messengers to Pope Innocent to be further instructed in his religion. But some Christians which were in Tartary dissuaded him from so doing, lest the Tartarians, coming to Rome, should behold the dissoluteness of men's lives there, and so refuse to suck the milk of sweet doctrine from so sour and bitter nipples, besmeared about with bad and scandalous conversation. Yea, never could the Christian religion be showed to Pagans at any time on more disadvantages²; Grecians and Latins were at deadly feud; amongst the Latins, Guelfes and Gibellines sought to ruin each other; humility was every where preached, and pride practised; they persuaded others to labour for heaven, and fell out about earth themselves; their lives were contrary to their doctrines, and their doctrines one to another.

1249.] But as for these ambassadors, King Louis received them very courteously, dismissing them with bounteous gifts. And by them he sent to their master a tent, wherein the history of the Bible was as richly as curiously depicted in needle work; hoping thus to catch his soul in his eyes, and both in that glorious present: pictures being then accounted laymen's books, though since of many condemned as full of erratas, and never set forth by authority from the king of heaven to be means or workers of faith.

Whilst Louis stayed in Cyprus, the Templars in the Holy Land began to have his greatness in suspicion. This order (as both the other, of Hospitallers and Teutronics) though mown down to the bare roots at the last unfortunate battle, yet now in three years space sprung up as populous as ever before; their other brethren, which lived in their several convents and commanderies over all Europe, having now refurnished the houses in Palestine.

Now these Templars were loath King Louis should come to Ptolemais, though they counterfeited he should be very welcome there. They formerly there had commanded in chief without control, and were unwilling, having long sat in the saddle, now to dismount and hold the stirrup to another. Besides, they would not have so neat and cleanly a guest see their sluttish houses, fearing Louis's piety would shame their dissoluteness (being one so godly in his conversation, that by the preaching in his life he had converted many Saracens³), yea, perchance he being a strict discipli-

² P. Æmil. ut prius.

³ P. Æmil. p. 216.

narian would punish their vicious manners. Wherefore they wrote to him out of Syria, to accept of a peace which the sultan of Egypt now offered, and to proceed no further in war against him.

The French king, whose heart was ever open to any fair agreement, and shut against any dishonourable suspicions, had entertained the motion, had not the king of Cyprus, being more studied in the Templars' treacheries, better instructed him; for he told him this was but a trick of their great master, who underhand had sent to the sultan, and procured him to proffer this peace only for their own private ends, for to divert the king from coming amongst them⁴. Louis, though the mildest and most patient of princes, yet not a drone which wanted the sting of anger, commanded the master of the Templars upon the price of his head thenceforward to receive no embassy, nor keep any intelligence with their enemy, and resolved with himself to invade Egypt.

CHAP. XIII.—*The wise Preparations of the Egyptians. The Valour of the French at their Landing. Damietta won.*

BUT he stood so long in aiming, that the bird saw him, and had leisure to fly away, and Meladin the Egyptian king to provide himself to make resistance. Last time (some thirty years before) when the Christians under John Bren invaded Egypt, they were not impeached in their arrival, but suffered to land without any opposition. But Meladin now was sensible of the discommodity in permitting his foes safely to come on shore; for first, they wasted and spoiled the country and the provision about them; secondly, opportunity was given to mal-contents and ill-disposed persons to fly to the enemy; lastly, he found it most policy to keep the enemy off at arm's end, and to close at the last, and not to adventure his kingdom on the single die of a battle, but rather set it on a chance, that so he might have the more play for it. Wherefore he resolved to strengthen his maritime places, and not suffer them to land, though also herein he met with many difficulties. For as nothing was more certain than that Louis would set on Egypt, so nothing more uncertain; and because it was unknown at what time or place he would come, all times and places were provided for. This exhausted a mass of

⁴ Knolles, Turk. Hist. p. 102.

treasure to keep in pay so many soldiers for many months together. But it is no time to dispute about unnecessary thrift, when a whole kingdom is brought into question to be subdued.

And because the landing places in Egypt are of great disadvantage to the defendants, yielding them no shelter from the fury of their enemies' artillery, being! all open places and plain (the shores there being not shod against the sea with huge high rocks, as they are in some other countries, because the land is low and level), Meladin was forced to fortify well nigh a hundred and eighty miles along the seaside; and what nature had left bare, art put the more clothes on; and by using of great industry (such as by Tully is fitly termed *horribilis industriā*), in short space all that part of Egypt was fenced which respecteth the sea.

Winter being past, Robert duke of Burgundy and Alphonse, King Louis's brother, arrived in Cyprus with a new army; and hereupon they concluded to set forward for Egypt, and attempted to land near Damietta [June 4]. But the governor thereof, with a band of valiant soldiers, stoutly resisted them. Here was a doubtful fight; the Egyptians standing on the firm ground, were thereby enabled to improve and enforce their darts to the utmost¹, whilst the French in their ticklish boats durst not make the best of their own strength. Besides, those on land threw their weapons downwards from the forts they had erected, so that the declivity and downfall did naturally second the violent impression of their darts. However, the infidels at last were here beaten with what commonly was their own weapon, I mean, multitude; so that they fled into the town, leaving behind them their governor and five hundred of their best soldiers dead on the shore [June 5].

Damietta was a strong city, the taking whereof was accounted the good task of an army for a year. But now the Egyptians within were presented afresh with the memory of the miseries they endured in the last long siege by the Christians; and fearing lest that tragedy should be acted over again, set fire on their houses, and in the night saved themselves by flight. The French, issuing in, quenched the fire, and rescued much corn and other rich spoil from the teeth of the flame [June 9].

Meladin, much troubled with this loss, to purchase peace offered the Christians all Jerusalem, in as ample a manner

¹ P. Æmil. p. 216.

as ever formerly they had enjoyed it²; all prisoners to be restored, with a great sum of money to defray their charges, and many other good conditions: so that we may much wonder at his profuseness in these proffers, and more at the Christians' indiscretion in their refusal. For though some advised to make much of so frank a chapman, and not through covetousness to outstand their market³; yet the pope's legate and Robert earl of Artois, heightened with pride that they could not see their profit, and measuring their future victories by the largeness of their first footing in Egypt, would make no bargain except Alexandria, the best port in Egypt, were also cast in for vantage, to make the conditions downweight; and King Louis, whose nature was only bad because it was so good, would in no wise cross his brother in what he desired. Whereupon the Turks, seeing themselves in so desperate condition, their swords being sharpened on extremity, provided to defend their country to the utmost.

CHAP. XIV.—*Discords betwixt the French and English.
The Death and Disposition of Meladin King of Egypt.*

ABOUT this time brake out the dissensions betwixt the French and English. The cause whereof (as some say) was, for that the earl of Salisbury in sacking a fort got more spoil than the French. But surely the foundation of their discontents lay much lower, being an old enmity betwixt the two nations; and Robert earl of Artois used Earl William and his men with much discourtesy.

This Robert stood much on the royalty of his descent, being brother to King Louis, though nothing of kin in conditions, being as bountiful to deal injuries and affronts as the other alms and charitable deeds. The English earl, though he stood on the lower ground in point of birth, yet conceived himself to even him in valour and martial knowledge. And though godly King Louis used all his holy water to quench these heart-burnings, his success answered not his pains, much less his desires; only his cooling persuasions laid their enmities for the present fairly asleep.

Amidst these broils died Meladin the Egyptian king. A worthy prince he was; though some write very coarsely of him; as he must rise early, yea, not at all go to bed, who will have every one's good word. Let Christians speak of him as they found; whose courtesies to them when they

² Matth. Paris, p. 1047.

³ Knolles, Turk. Hist.

were half drowned in Egypt, if they will not confess, they deserve to be wholly drowned for their ingratitude. In the latter end of his age he quite lost the good will of his subjects, and lived unloved, and died unlamented, though a deserving and fortunate man, which oftentimes covereth a multitude of faults. The chief reason whereof was, because they suspected him to be unsound in his religion, and offering to Christianity; besides, having reigned above thirty years, his government became stale; and good things, if of long continuance, grow tedious, they being rather affected for their variety than true worth: lastly, the rising sun stole the adorers from the sun setting; and Melechsala, his son, being an active and promising prince, reigned before in men's desires over the kingdom. To him now they all applied themselves; and having more wisdom in their generation than the Christians, instantly ceased their private dissensions. And now the sultans of Damascus, Aleppo, and Babylon twisted themselves in a joint agreement with Melechsala to defend their Mahometan religion.

CHAP. XV.—*Robert Earl of Artois fighting with the Egyptians, contrary to the Counsel of the Master of the Templars, is overthrown and drowned.*

FROM Damietta the French marched up towards Cairo [1250]; the governor whereof, offended with Melechsala, promised to deliver that regal city to the French. With some danger and more difficulty, they passed an arm of the Nile, being conducted by a fugitive Saracen to a place where it was fordable. Hence Earl Robert marched forward with a third part of the army, and suddenly assaulting the Turks in their tents (whilst Melechsala was absent in solemnizing a feast), put them to flight. Hereupon this earl proclaimed himself, in his hopes, monarch of the world: this blow made his enemies reel, the next would fell them. Now speed was more needful than strength; this late victory, though gotten, was lost if not used. What though they were not many? the fewer the adventurers, the greater the gain. Let them therefore forwards, and set on the whole power of the Turks, which was encamped not far off.

But the master of the Templars, in whom the sap of youth was well dried up, advised the earl to stay and digest the honour he had gotten, expecting the arrival of the rest of their army¹; for the work was weighty they undertook,

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 1049.

and needed two shoulders, the united strength of the Christians, effectually to manage it: his soldiers were weary, and must be refreshed; and it was madness to starve them to-day in hope of a feast to-morrow; that they were to march through a strange country, and their best instructors were behind; let them stay for their lantern, and not go in the dark. He minded him that he overvalued his victory, not considering the enemies' strength, whose harvest was not spoiled by losing a handful of men.

But the earl, full of the emptiness of self-conceit, allowed no counsel for current but that of his own stamp. He scorned to wait the leisure of another opportunity, and opprobriously objected to the Templars the common fame, that the Holy Land long since had been won, but for the collusion of the false Templars and Hospitallers with the infidels².

Here the earl of Salisbury interposed himself to make peace, and to persuade Robert to listen to the wholesome counsel that was given him. But his good will was rewarded with "Coward, dastard, English-tail," and such like contumelious terms. Wherefore said our earl, "Well, general, on, in God's name; I believe this day you shall not dare to come nigh my horse's tail³." And now the touchstone must tell what is gold, what is brass.

Marching on, they assaulted the castle of Mauzar, and were notably repulsed; and Melechsala, coming in with his whole strength, hemmed them in on every side. The Christians were but the third part of the army; and, at the present, they themselves were scarce the half of themselves, being faint for want of refreshing. Yet never shall one read more valour in so little a volume; they played their parts most stoutly. As for the French earl, who went on like thunder, he went out like smoke, crying to the earl of Salisbury, "Flee, flee, for God fighteth against us." To whom our earl, "God forbid my father's son should flee from the face of a Saracen." The other, seeking to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and crossing the river, had there water enough to drown him, but too little to wash from him the stain of rashness and cowardice. Thus died the earl of Artois; who had in him the parts of a good general, but inverted and in transposition, bold in counsel,

² Matth. Paris, p. 1050.

³ Erimus (credo) hodie, ubi non audebis caudam equi mei attingere.—Idem ibid.

fearful in execution. He was one of that princely quaternion of brothers which came hither at this voyage, and exceeded each other in some quality; Louis the Holiest, Alphonse the Subtlest, Charles the Stoutest, and this Robert the Proudest.

As for the earl of Salisbury, he resolved to sell his life at such a rate that the buyer should little boast of his pennyworth, slaying many a Turk; and though unhorsed and wounded in his legs, stood on his honour when he could not stand on his feet; and, refusing all quarter, upon his knees laid about him like a desperate man. The longer he fought, the fewer wounds he had; and there at last he breathed forth his soul in the midst of his enemies. Of all the Christians there escaped no more than two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one common soldier, the messengers of this heavy news.

The French writers, because they can say little good, say little of this battle, and lessen the overthrow as much as may be; which authors of other nations have more fully reported. Thus sometimes unfortunate gamesters flatter themselves, belie their own purses, and dissemble their losses, whereof the standers by take more accurate notice. P. Æmilius (an Italian, born at Verona; but by long writing the French history, his pen is made free denison of France), though with his hand he doth hide the orifice of the wound, yet it is too narrow to cover the whole sore round about; so that it plainly appeareth, that a great and grievous and most mortal blow was here given to the Christians.

CHAP. XVI.—*King Louis, almost in the same Place, hath the same woful Success; conquered and taken captive by Melechsala.*

IT is easier to be conceived than expressed, what general grief this doleful news brought to the French; who followed not far off, and who before had cause enough to sorrow for themselves; for the plague began to rage furiously amongst them, and daily swept away thousands. Meantime good King Louis sent many of the weakest and impotentest people down the river to Damietta, there to enjoy the benefit of privacy, good attendance, and physic. Melechsala, having intelligence hereof, met them by the way, and setting upon them (having neither arm to fight, nor legs to run away), either burned or drowned them all, save one Englishman, Alexander Giffard (whose ancient and famous family flourisheth to this day at Chellington, in Staffordshire), who,

wounded in five places of his body, escaped to the French, and reported what had happened to the rest.

And by this time Melechsala understood of the correspondence betwixt King Louis and the governor of Cairo for the betraying of the city; whereupon he caused him suddenly to be apprehended, whereby the French king lost all hopes to obtain that place of importance. Yea, now full willingly would the Christians have accepted the terms formerly offered them; and now their hungry stomachs would make dainties of those conditions which before, when full of pride, they threw away as fragments. But the Turks now slighted them, as not worth the treating with; and as knowing that these Frenchmen, who at their first landing were more than men, would at last be less than women.

Then began the French lords to persuade King Louis to provide for the safety of his own person, and to return to Damietta. They told him, that if he stayed with them there was no hope grounded on probability (and what was any other but a wilful self-delusion?) of his escaping. If he were killed, his death would be a living shame to their religion; if taken prisoner, how would Mahomet insult over Christ! The captivity of the most Christian of the most Christian kings would be foundation enough for the Turks thereon to build trophies of eternal triumph. But Louis would not leave them, that they might not leave him, but resolved to be a commoner with them in weal and woe; disdaining to be such a niggard of his life as not to spend it in a good cause in so good company.

Forward they march, and come to the fatal place where the last battle was fought. There behold the mangled, headless, handless, feetless corpses of their fellow countrymen. They knew in general they were all their friends; none knew his particular friend. The cause of this unwonted cruelty to the dead was a proclamation which Melechsala made, assigning a great sum of money to every one who would bring the head, hand, or foot of a Christian: and this made many of his covetous cowards (who carried their valour in their purses) to be courageous. Whilst the French were here bemoaning their fellows, Melechsala came upon them with an infinite multitude [April 5], and put them all (being few and feeble) to the sword; taking King Louis, with his two brethren, Alphonse and Charles, prisoners.

Instantly the Turks went up with French ensigns to Damietta, hoping so suddenly to surprise it; which project

had it took effect, then farewell King Louis for ever. He must be sent a present to the caliph of Babylon, from whom never any returned alive; Melechsala being but purgatory, whence there was redemption; but the Babylonian caliph hell itself, from whence no hope of release. But God defeated their design; for the Turks could not French it so handsomely, but that they were discovered. The very language of their hands made them suspected afar off, because they could not counterfeit the French idiotisms in managing their bucklers, that nation being most punctual and critical in their military postures; but being come near, it was plain for any to read Turk in their beards and complexions; so that they departed without having what they desired.

CHAP. XVII.—*The woful Impression which the ill Success of the French wrought on the Christians in Europe.*

SOME made more haste than good speed (bad news being the worst ware a ship can be fraught with) to sail into France with the sad tidings of this overthrow. These intelligencers Blanche, the queen-mother and regent of France, rewarded with the gallows; and my author doubteth not to pronounce them all martyrs¹. But let them be contented with the coronet of their own innocence, though without the crown of martyrdom; that honour alone belonging to such as suffer death for fundamental points of religion. But so great an eclipse could not long be kept from the eyes of the world; and this doleful and dismal news was sounded and seconded from every side. Then was there a general lamentation over all Christendom, chiefly in France, where all were so sorrowful, that any mirth was counted profaneness. Many bounded not themselves within the banks of grief, but brake out into blasphemy, both in France and elsewhere, taxing Justice itself of being unjust; and, not content to admire what they could not conceive, condemned God's proceedings herein to be against right, because above their reason. Fools, because they could not conquer on earth, did quarrel with heaven. This bad breath, though it came but from the teeth of some, yet proceeded from the corrupted lungs of others; some spake but out of present passion, but others even out of bred atheism. Many who before were but lukewarm in

¹ Quos martyres credimus esse manifestos.—Matth. Paris, p. 1059.

religion, now turned stark cold. In Venice and some other cities of Italy, the inhabitants whereof Matthew Paris² calleth *semi-christianos*, but half Christians (though this his harsh appellation wanteth three parts of charity) began wholly to tend to apostasy. And now for a crutch to stay their reeling faith, it was high time for the clergy to ply the pulpits. They persuaded those Rachels who in this voyage had lost any children and would not be comforted, that their children were in a most blessed condition; they emptied all their boxes of their colours of rhetoric, therewith to paint out the happiness of their estate which they enjoyed in heaven; they pieced out their sermons with reporting of miracles: how William earl of Salisbury appeared to his mother, and assured her that he reigned most glorious in heaven³. She presently forgot her grief for losing her son, for joy that she had found a saint, yea, a martyr. This was their constant custom; when any in Europe wept for the loss of their friends in this war, their tears were instantly dried up with some hot miracle that was reported them: wherewith the silly people were well pleased; as babes of clouts are good enough to keep children from crying.

About this time many thousands of the English were resolved for the holy war, and would needs have been gone, had not the king strictly guarded his ports, and kept his kingdom from running away out of doors. The king promised he would go with them, and hereupon got a mass of money from them for this journey. Some say that he never intended it, and that this only was a trick to stroke the skittish cow to get down her milk. His stubborn subjects said, that they would tarry for his company till midsummer, and no longer. Thus they weighed out their obedience with their own scales, and the king stood to their allowance. But hearing of this sorrowful accident, both prince and people altered their resolution; who had come too late to help the French in their distress, and too soon to bring themselves into the same misery.

CHAP. XVIII.—*King Louis, exchanged for Damietta, stayeth some years at Ptolemais.*

BUT to return to Egypt, where King Louis was kept prisoner by Melechsala, who often felt his disposition about the resigning of Damietta, but found that to hear of death was more welcome music unto him.

² Ut prius.

³ Matth. Paris, p. 1051.

But see here a sudden alteration. One Tarquemine, a sturdy mamaluke, with another of that society, killed Melechsala in the very height of his victorious happiness, and succeeded him in the Egyptian kingdom. This Tarquemine came in with an intent to send Louis the same way; which poor prince was only armed with innocence and majesty, and yet his bare person defended his person from that cruel attempt: such an awful impression did his very presence, saith my author, strike into him who would have stricken him. But we may rather think that the city of Damietta was King Louis's corslet, and that all the towers and walls of that place fenced him; Tarquemine reserving his person as an equivalent ransom, thereby to redeem that royal city.

Now Louis had changed his lord, but not his lamentable condition, continuing still a prisoner. At last he was restored to his liberty, on condition that the Christians should surrender Damietta, and he also pay back to the Turks many thousand pounds, both for ransom of Christian captives, and in satisfaction of the vastations they had committed in Egypt. Louis, for security of this money, pawned to the Turk the pyx and host (that is, the body of Christ transubstantiated in the eucharist), as his chiefest jewel which he should be most careful to redeem. Hence, in perpetual memory of this conquest, we may see a wafer cake and a box always wrought in the borders of that tapestry which is brought out of Egypt¹.

Note by the way, that the Turks were most unreasonable in their rates of ransoming soldiers, and in all other their pecuniary demands. For their own country being near to the fountain of gold and silver, they made as if it flowed as plentifully in other places, measuring the wealth of other lands by their own, and asking as much for a private man's ransom as would drain a prince's purse in these western parts.

Thus was Damietta restored again to the Turks, and the Christians punctually performed their promises; though the false miscreant on the other side set not half the captives free, killed all the sick persons whom by promise he should relieve, and (contrary to the agreement) suffered not any Christian to transport any of his goods out of Egypt.

Hence Louis sailed to Ptolemais; where he lived in a miserable case, being forsaken of his brothers, subjects,

¹ Du Serres, in the Life of Louis IX.

friends, and the pope himself. His brothers, Alphonse and Charles, though sent into France to solicit his suit, and to advance his ransom with speed, yet being arrived, forgot the affliction of Joseph, and the king was as far from their mind as their sight; wherefore God justly visited Alphonse with an incurable disease. His subjects, though furious at first in bemoaning him, yet the fit past, complained not so much for him as on him; charging him for ill managing the matters in Egypt by his cowardliness and indiscretion. His friends, the Pisans and Genoans, reviled him as the marrer of their mart, Damietta being formerly their most gainful port; but now their honey was spoiled by destroying the hive; for the sultan, seeing the city taken twice of the Christians in a short time, to prevent further dispute about it, took away the subject of the question, and razed it to the ground. The pope forsook him; and, though many entreated his holiness not to prosecute the Emperor Frederick any further, from whom Louis expected all the beams of his comfort, yet he would hear of no submission from him, but sought finally to ruin him. Only Blanche, King Louis's mother, was careful for her son, and laboured his cause day and night. But alas! her arms were too short to bring all ends together. And having gathered a considerable sum of money, and shipped it for Palestine, a tempest in a moment cast that away which her care and thrift was many months in getting². All this he bore with a soul not benumbed with Stoical senselessness, but becalmed with Christian patience: a second Job, so that what pleased God pleased him³. It somewhat mitigated his misery, that he had the company of his consort Margaret, a woman worthy so good a husband. Here she bore him a child, which, because another Benoni, or son of sorrow, was called Tristram. But that name is more ancient⁴, nor had it its birth from the christening of this child.

Four years King Louis lived (not to say loitered) in Syria, daily expecting in vain that some prince of Europe should fetch him off with honour, being loath to return till he could carry home his credit with him. And though he was out of his kingdom, yet was he in his kingdom, whilst surveying there the sacred monuments wherewith he was so highly affected.

² Matth. Paris, p. 1091.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Sir Tristram, a knight long before. See Carew, in Cornwall, fol. 61.

CHAP. XIX.—*The Commonwealth of the Mamalukes described, presenting us with many unexampled Remarkables.*

NOW more largely of Tarquemine, and his killing Melechsala, and of the commonwealth of the mamalukes begun by him. And because great is the merit of this story, as very memorable, we will fetch it from its first original.

Saladin (as is touched before¹) was the first of the Turkish kings who began the gainful trade of the mamalukes. These were Christian captives, brought out of Taurica Chersonesus, and instructed as in Mahometanism so in all military discipline; Saladin disposing them in martial nurseries, and continuing a constant succession of them one under another. It is above belief how much and speedily they were improved in warlike exercises: art doubled their strength by teaching them to use it. And though they came rough out of their own country, they were quickly hewn and polished by education; yea, their apprehensions prevented the precepts, and their practice surpassed the precedents of those that instructed them. And it is observed in fruits and flowers, that they are much bettered by change to a fitter soil; so were these people by altering their climate: the cold country wherein they were bred gave them big and robustious bodies; and the hot climate whereinto they were transplanted ripened their wits, and bestowed upon them craft and activity, the dowry of the southern countries. They attained to be expert in any service, especially were they excellent horsemen; and at last they began to ride on the backs and necks of the Turkish kings themselves.

True it is, Saladin kept his distance over them, used them kindly, yet made them not wantons; and so poised these mamalukes with his native Egyptians, that in all actions he still reserved the casting voice for himself. But Meladin and Melechsala, his successors, entertained them without number, and instructed them beyond reason, so that under them in a manner they monopolized all places of strength and command; till at last, the stem of these mercenary soldiers being too great for the stock of the natives, the Turkish kingdom into Egypt, like a top-heavy tree, became a windfall. Indeed, the dastardness of the Egyptians made

¹ Book 2, chap. 40.

these mamalukes more daring and insolent. For the Egyptians more loved profit than honour, and wealth than greatness; and though contented to abide labour, would in nowise undergo danger. Merchandise they were wholly employed in; and it seemed they used trading so long, till at last they made sale of their own spirits. Yea, one could not now know Egypt to be Egypt, but only by the overflowing of the Nile, not by any remaining ancient marks of valour in the people's disposition. Thus the genius of old kingdoms in time groweth weaker, and doteth at the last.

But to come to Tarquemine: he being one of these mamalukes, and perceiving how easy it was for those that did support, to supplant the Turkish kings, with another of his associates slew Melechsala, as it was said. And because it was unfitting so great a prince should go to the grave alone, he also sent his children and intimate friends thither to attend him. Tarquemine afterwards procured of his society to be chosen king of Egypt. He was the Solon or Lycurgus of this slavish commonwealth, and by the consent of the rest of his company he enacted many laws; whereof these were those of the grand charter, which admitted of no revocation:—

First, that the sultan, or chief of this servile empire, should be chosen always out of the mamalukes².

Secondly, that none should be admitted to the order of the mamalukes which were either Jews or Turks by birth, but only such as, being born Christians, were afterwards taken captives, and then from the time of their slavery had been instructed in the Mahometan religion.

Thirdly, that though the sons of the mamalukes might enjoy their father's lands and wealth, yet they might not take upon them the name or honour of a mamaluke.

Fourthly, that the native Egyptians should be permitted no use of weapons, but only such as with which they fought against weeds, to till and manure the land.

In surveying this state, we can turn no way but must meet with wonders:—

First, one would think that there was such an indelible character of slavery in these captives, and such a *læsum principium* in them, that none of them ever should make a good prince, as knowing no more how to sway a sceptre than a pure clown to manage a sword; or else that they should overstate it, turn tyrants, and only exchange their

² Knolles, Turk. Hist. p. 107.

slavery by becoming vassals to their own passions. Yet many of them in their kinds were worthy princes for government, no whit inferior to those which are advantaged with royal birth and breeding.

Secondly, it is a wonder they should be so neglective of their own children. How many make an idol of their posterity, and sacrifice themselves unto it, stripping themselves out of necessities to provide their heirs a wardrobe ! Yea, it is a principle in most moderate minds to advance their posterity, thinking hereby in a manner they overcome death, and immortalize their memories in leaving their names and honours to their children ; whereas the contrary appeared in these mamalukes.

Thirdly, it is admirable that they fell not out in the election of their prince, being in a manner all equal amongst themselves. We see elective states in Christendom, though bound with the straitest laws, often sag aside into schisms and factions ; whereas this strange empire in their choice had no dangerous discords, but such as were quenched in the kindling.

Lastly, whoever knew a wall that had no better cement, to stand so sure and so long ? Two hundred sixty and seven years this state endured : and yet had it to do with strong and puissant enemies. Some kingdoms owe their greatness not so much to their own valour and wisdom as to the weakness of their neighbours, but it fared not thus with the mamalukes. To omit Prester John, who neighboured them on the south, on all other sides they were encompassed with potent opposers, from whom right valiantly they defended themselves, till in the year 1517 they were overcome by Selimus, the great Turkish emperor.

To conclude : as for the Amazons and their brave achievements, with much valour and no manhood, they and their state had only being in the brains of fabulous writers. As for the Assassins, or regiment of rogues, it never spread to the breadth of any great country, nor grew to the height of a kingdom ; but, being the jakes of the world, was cast out in a place betwixt barren hills. But this empire of vassals was every way wonderful, stretching so far over all Egypt and most of Syria, and lasting so long. A strange state, wherein slavery was the first step to their throne, and apostasy the first article in their religion !

CHAP. XX.—*The Manner of the Death of Frederick King of Jerusalem; his Will and Posterity after him. An Interregnum both in Germany and the Kingdom of Jerusalem.*

IN this same year [1250] Frederick king of Jerusalem and Emperor of Germany, ended his troublesome days. A prince, who in the race of his life met with many rubs, some stumbles, no dangerous fall. Besides the Turk, he had to do with the pope (the pope immortal in his succession). And though his holiness was unfit for war (as being always old, and never ripe for that place till almost rotten), yet he used his own head, and commanded the hands of others; whereby he kept Frederick in a continual war. Yet never could he have beaten him with fair play, had he not used a weapon, if not against the law of arms, against the law of God, and against which no guard; arming his subjects against him, and dispensing with the oath of allegiance.

But he gave Frederick the mortal wound, in setting himself against himself; I mean, Henry his eldest son. And though Frederick easily conquered that rebellious youth, and made him fast enough, keeping him in prison in Apulia, where he died, yet he carried the grief hereof to his grave. For now he knew not where or in whom to place any confidence, as suspecting the single cord of loyalty would not hold in others, which brake in his own son though twisted with natural affection.

The greatness of his spirit was a great hastening of his death; and being of a keen, eager, and active nature, the sharpness of the sword cut the scabbard the sooner asunder. Bow he could not, break he must. Whatever is reported, he died of no other poison than sorrow (which ushered him into a wasting ague), grief being a burden whereof the strongest shoulders can bear the least. As for the fame, that Maufred his base son should stifle him with a pillow¹; though I must confess he might be taken on suspicion, as likely enough to play such a devilish prank; yet it is unreasonable, that he who is acquitted by the authors of the same time, should be condemned on the evidence of the writers of after ages².

He died at Florence in an obscure castle on St. Lucy's

¹ Bzovius, anno 1250, § 14.

² Falsum ex ejus temporis hominum testimonio esse convincitur.—Pantal. in Fred. II.

day [Dec. 13; as others, 26], having reigned king of Jerusalem three and twenty years. By his will he bequeathed many ounces of gold to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, in recompense of the wrongs they had received by him. He left a great sum of money for the recovery of the Holy Land, to be disposed at the discretion of the aforesaid knights. He forbade any stately funeral for himself, though in his life immoderately excessive in pomp; as if he would do penance for his pride after death. A prince, who, had he not been hindered with domestical discords, would have equalized Cæsar himself: for if thus bravely he laid about him, his hands being tied at home with continual dissensions, what would he have done if at liberty? A scandal is raised since his death, that he was but a miller's son³; but he would have ground them to powder who in his lifetime durst have averred it. Indeed he was very happy in mechanical matters, such as we may term liberal handicrafts; as casting, founding, carving in iron and brass: neither did this argue a low soul, to dabble in such mean employments, but rather proved the amplitude and largeness thereof; of so general acquaintance, that no art was a stranger to him. But the suspicion of his birth rose from the almost miraculous manner of it; Constantia, his mother, bearing him when well nigh sixty years of age. But, both in Scripture and other writers, we may see the sons of long-barren mothers to have been fruitful in famous achievements.

Pity it was that he had some faults; yea, pity it had been if he had not had some. But his vices indeed were notorious and inexcusable. Many wives and concubines he had, and by them many children.

<i>His Wives.</i>	<i>His legitimate Children.</i>	<i>Their Preferment.</i>
1. Constantia, queen of Aragon.	Henry, who rebelled against him.	King of the Romans.
2. Iole, daughter to John Bren.	Conrad.	Duke of Suabia.
3 Agnes, daughter to the Marquess of Moravia, childless divorced.		

³ Others say, a falconer's, or a physician's. See Munster, *De Italia*, lib. 2, p. 235.

<i>His Wives.</i>	<i>His legitimate Children.</i>	<i>Their Preferment.</i>
4. Rutina.		
5. Isabella of Bavaria.	Agnes.	Married to Conrad, landgrave of Hesse.
6. Maud, daughter to John king of England.	Constance.	Wife to Lewis, landgrave of Hesse.
<i>His Concubine.</i>	<i>His base Sons.</i>	
Blanch.	1. Henzius.	King of Sardinia.
	2. Maufred.	Usurper of Sicily.
	3. Frederick.	Prince of Antioch. ⁴

It is much, that succession adventured in so many several bottoms should miscarry : yet these four sons dying, left no lasting issue ; and in the third generation Frederick's stock, and that whole race of Suabian princes, was extinct : which in the judgment of some men was a judgment of God on him for his lasciviousness.

We must not forget a memorable passage which happened more than twenty years after Frederick's death :— One Tylo Colupp, a notable juggler, some time brought up at the court, cunningly sewing together all the old shreds of his courtship, and stretching them out with impudency, pretended to be Frederick the emperor, long detained in captivity in Palestine⁵. The difference betwixt their aspects was easily reconciled ; for few physiognomy marks are so deeply fixed in any face, but that age and misery will alter them. The credulity of the vulgar sort presently betrayed them to be cozened by him ; yea, some princes took this brass for gold without touching it. But the best engine which gave this puppet his motion was a bruit constantly buzzed, that Frederick was not dead ; for princes, the manner of whose deaths hath been private and obscure, fame commonly conjureth again out of their graves, and they walk abroad in the tongues and brains of many, who affirm and believe them to be still alive. But the world soon surfeited of this cheater's forgery ; and this glowworm, when brought into the light, shined no more, but at Nanse was burnt to ashes by Rodulph the emperor.

After Frederick's death there was an *interregnum* for

⁴ Gathered out of Lampad. Mellif. Hist. part 3, p. 306.

⁵ Calvisius, anno 1285, ex Spang. Et Pantal. in Rodulpho Cæsare.

three and twenty years in the empire of Germany. True it is, that of some, William earl of Holland (one without a beard, not valour) was nominated emperor. The spiritual electors chose Richard, brother to our King Henry III. And as in Cornwall he got much coin, so Germany gave him a bottomless bag to put it in. A third party named Alphonse, king of Castile, an admirable mathematician; but the ointment of his name is marred with the dead fly of his atheistical speech, that if he had been in God's stead, he could have framed the world better than now it is. Notwithstanding, the best Dutch writers make an *interregnum*, as counting the empire still a widow, and all these rather her suitors than any her husband.

In like manner also in Palestine there was not any king for fourteen years after Frederick's death. The right indeed lay in Conrad duke of Suabia, Frederick's son by Iole daughter to John Bren king of Jerusalem; but he was so employed in defending himself in Sicily against Maufred his base brother (who soon after dispatched him out of the way), that he had no leisure to prosecute his title to the fragments of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

CHAP. XXI.—*The Pastorells killed in France. King Louis returned home.*

GO we back to King Louis, who all this while stayed in Palestine, busying himself partly in building and fencing of Sidon and Cæsarea, partly in composing discords betwixt the Pisans and Genoans, even proceeding to threaten them into agreement; but these armed men little cared for his naked menacing. He being also an excellent religious antiquary and critic on holy monuments, much employed himself in redeeming of old sacred places from the tyranny of time and oblivion.

Meantime, in his kingdom of France happened this strange accident [1251]; an Hungarian peasant, who is said to have been an apostate to Mahomet and well learned, gathered together many thousands of people, pretending they had intelligence from heaven to march to the Holy Land¹. These took on them the name and habit of *Pastorelli*, poor shepherds; in imitation belike (as the devil is God's ape) of those in the gospel, who were warned by angels in a vision to go to Bethlehem.

Being to shape their course into Palestine, they went

¹ Matth. Paris, p. 1094.

into France; showing they had a vertigo in their heads, mistaking the west for the east; or else, that like vagabonds they were never out of their way.

The holy Lamb was their ensign, but their actions neither holy nor lamb-like. They pillaged and killed the poor Jews as they went (an unhappy nation, whose heads lie pat for every one's hands to hit, and their legs so stand in men's way that few can go by them without spurning at them); where they wanted Jews, they made Jews of Christians, especially if they were rich, using them with all cruelty. But at last near Bourdeaux threescore thousand of them were slain, and the rest dispersed. A rhymers of that age (or in courtesy call him a poet) made this epitaph on them.

*M semel, et bis C, L I, conjungere disce ;
Duxit pastorum sæva Megæra chorum*².

Learn to put together well,
What M, C, C, L, I, do spell;
When some devilish fiend in France
Did teach the shepherds how to dance.

By this time [1253] Louis in Syria had stayed out the death and burial of all his hopes to receive succour from his own country. Long expecting in vain that France should come to him, he at last returned to it. The greatness of the burthen he bore made him go the faster; and being laden with debts to his Italian creditors, he secretly hasted home; where safely arriving [April 25,] besides loyalty to their prince, love to a stranger was enough to make him welcome.

CHAP. XXII.—*The Conversion of the Tartarians. Haalon conquereth Persia, and extinguisheth the Caliphs of Babylon.*

LOUIS is gone, and left the Christians in Syria in a woful condition, without hope of amendment. Now, can any good come out of Tartary? can the northern wind blow a comfortable warmth? Yea, see a strange vicissitude of things! Haito, the Christian king of Armenia, had travelled to Mango the cham of Tartary, to communicate to him the present danger of the Turks, and to consult of a remedy¹. He showed, how if order were not taken with

² Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 16, col. 698.

¹ Marinus Sanutus. Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 16, col. 699.

them in time, they would overrun all Asia: let him not count that he lay out of their road, because of his remote situation; for what is the way wanderers will not trace? He might expect only this courtesy, to be last devoured. In conclusion, Haito prevailed so far with this pagan, that he not only promised his assistance, but also was baptized, and took the Christian religion on him: so also did his whole country by his example [1254]; and Christianity being the court fashion, none would be out of it. Never since the time of Constantine the Great, did the devil at once lose a greater morsel, or was there made a more hopeful accession to the faith.

Understand we this conversion of Tartary (though authors predicate it universally of that whole country) only of Cathaia, the eastern and most refined part of that empire; for cannibals were still in the north, who needed first to be converted to reason and to be made men, before they could become Christians. Also at this same time we find a swarm of western Tartarian heathens foraging Poland². So it seemeth, so vast was the empire, that it was still night in the west, though it was day in the eastern part thereof.

Now, whether the conversion of these Tartarians was solemnly, deliberately, and methodically wrought by preaching, first, those things wherein the light of nature concurrereth with faith; then, those wherein human reason is no foe but standeth neuter; lastly, such as are merely of faith, leaving the issue of all to God, whose oratory alone can persuade souls³; or whether (which is more probable) it was but tumultuously done, many on a sudden rather snatching than embracing religion, we will not dispute. Sure it is that Mango sent Haalon his brother [1255] (who is said to have married a wife an excellent Christian, and descended from the wise men who came to see our Saviour⁴) with a great army to suppress the Turks and assist the Christians. It seemeth his army rode post, for, falling into Persia, he conquered it sooner than one can well travel it, in half a year⁵. It facilitated his victory, because that country had much unfurnished herself to furnish her foreign colonies and garrisons in Syria; and generally active nations are strong-

² Calvisius, ex Hist. Pol. in anno 1259.

³ Θεῖόν ἐστι πείθιν τὰς ψυχὰς.—Athanasius.

⁴ Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 2, p. 5.

⁵ So Knolles, Turk. Hist. p. 112. The Magdeburgenses say less, Semestri spatio, Cent, 13, cap. 16, col. 699.

est abroad, and weakest at home; where they are only strong with a conceit of their strength believed in other countries. The city Samarcand only resisted him [1256]. Haalon, seeing it would not come at the first, let it stay; counting it beneath a conqueror to tempt his fortune with a long siege, which perchance might alter the whole course of the cards, and make him rise a loser. Wherefore he himself only skimmed the cream of the conquest, and went away with what was easy and smooth, deputing an inferior captain to hew this knotty service; who after a long siege subdued it. For in respect of the age of this siege, that of Troy was but a child, it lasting seven and twenty years⁶; and at last not taken but yielded up, the defendants then wanting clothes to cover their nakedness.

From Persia Haalon marched to Babylon [1258]; the caliph whereof, called Musteazem, was so superstitious and idolater to his wealth, that he would not provide necessaries for the defence of the city, and therefore it was quickly subdued. The covetous caliph he famished to death, and then filled his mouth with melted gold⁷. Every where mosques went down and churches up.

Hence into Mesopotamia, which he instantly conquered with the cities of Aleppo and Edessa [1260]. He won and restored many places to Conrad the Christian prince of Antioch, which the Turks formerly detained from him. Yea, this Tartarian army so awed Melechem the mamaluke prince of Egypt, who succeeded Tarquemine, that he durst not budge. And many other good offices this Haalon did to the Christians in Syria.

CHAP. XXIII.—*The Discord betwixt the Genoans and Venetians, who burn the Genoan Ships in Ptolemais.*

BUT they were unworthy of this happiness, who would not be at leisure to make use of it, but busied themselves in private dissensions, the Genoans against the Pisan and Venetians. These states (as many others in Italy) at this time were so proud in their master's old clothes, they scarce knew themselves, grown brave with the feathers the eagle had moulted, and set up by the breaking of the emperor in Italy. The Venetians and Genoans were hardly matched; the Pisans were not so strong, but as stomachful as either of them, and then in this point of policy superio

⁶ Magdeburg. et Knolles, ut priùs.

⁷ Calvisius, in anno 1158, ex Bizaro.

to both: that first siding with the Genoans, they whipped the Venetians; then when they were sufficiently humbled, taking part with the Venetians, they stripped and lashed the Genoans: and the scales being even before, Pisa made that weigh down by course wherein she cast her grains.

Now not content to fall out at home, within the doors of Italy, they must fight in Syria in the open street, where the Turks looked on and laughed at them; counting it in their apprehension as good sport as to see a spider poison a toad. Besides their old grudges transported hither out of Italy, this green wound was the cause of their dissension here; in Ptolemais these three states had their several streets, several markets for trading, and courts for causes both civil and criminal; but all three had one church (that of St. Sabbas) common unto them, by the ordering of the pope himself, who counted the same church might serve the worshippers of the same God. But the Venetians, by the virtue of an ancient agreement betwixt them and King Baldwin for their service in winning this city, challenged a peculiar interest therein¹. Hereabout was there old bustling, and in a tumult, the Genoans, at that time surpassing for number, drave the Venetians out of the church; yea, Philip of Montfort, a French governor of Ptolemais in the time of the *interregnum*, wanting not only policy for a magistrate, but wit for a man (Blondus saith he was half mad², and his actions speak him no less), compelled the Venetians generally to forsake the city.

Implacably incensed hereat, the Venetians arm thirteen galleys which they had at Tyre, and coming to Ptolemais forced asunder the chain which crossed the haven, and burned five and twenty ships of the Genoans which lay here. For alas! being straitened in the haven, they had no room (being entangled) to turn and free themselves one from another. And though united force be most forcible, yet not when so stifled and smothered that it cannot express and exercise itself. Many brave soldiers in these ships lost their lives in a bundle, without selling them, or ever opening their wares.

To avenge this loss, the state of Genoa sent from home a navy of fifty ships of all sorts, which came to Tyre. There meet they with Reinerius Zenus duke of Venice, with the

¹ So saith Blondus, Decad. 2, lib. 8, p. 308. But if we consult Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 28, the Genoans and not the Venetians won Ptolemais.

² Loco prius citato.

united power of the Venetians and Pisans, counting no fewer than seventy-four vessels well provided. They would have fought in the very haven of Tyre, but the governor of the city forbade it: it would be more scandalous to Christianity; the roving fireballs might hurt the city, and sinking ships hinder the harbour; besides, the conquering party would probably complain of the partiality of the place, that it more favoured one side; they should not fight under his nose; if they had a mind to it, let them out, and try their fortunes in the open sea.

CHAP. XXIV.—*The Genoan Navy beaten by the Venetian Sea and Land-service compared, both in Danger and Honour.*

ACCORDINGLY it was performed; out they go and fall to their work. Their galleys, like ostriches, used their legs more than their wings, more running with oars than flying with sails. At that time, before ordnance was found out, ships were both guns and bullets themselves and furiously ran one against another.

They began with this arietation: herein strength was much but not all; nimbleness was also very advantageous to break and slent the downright rushings of a stronger vessel. Then fell they to grappling: here the steady ship had the better of it; and those soldiers who best kept their legs could best use their arms, the surest stander being always the soundest striker. Much valour was showed on both sides, and at last the victory fell to the Venetian. The Genoans, losing five and twenty of their ships, fled, and saved the rest in the haven of Tyre, after a most cruel and desperate battle.

And surely, generally sea-fights are more bloody than those on the land, especially since guns came up, whose shot betwixt wind and water (like those wounds so often mentioned in the scripture under the fifth rib), is commonly observed mortal. Yea, far harder it is for a ship, when arrested and engaged in a battle, to clear itself, than for soldiers by land to save themselves by flight. Here neither his own two nor his horse's four legs can bestead any; but like accidents they must perish with their subjects, and sink with their ship.

And then why is a sea victory less honour, being more danger, than one achieved by land? Is it because seaservice is not so general, nor so full of varieties, and the mysteries thereof sooner learned? Or because in sea-fights fortune may seem to be a deeper sharer, and valour not so much in

terested? Whatsoever it is, the laurel purchased on land hath a more lively verdure than that which is got at sea.

We return to the Venetians: who, using or rather abusing this conquest, enter Ptolemais, cast out all Genoans thence, throw down their buildings both public and private, demolish the fort which they had builded at St. Saba, rifle and spoil their shops, warehouses, and storehouses: only the pope prevailed so far with them, that they set at liberty the prisoners they had taken.

Ten years did this war last betwixt these two states in Syria, composed at last (saith my author) by the authority of Pope Clement IV., and by famine (the bad cause of a good effect) which in Palestine starved them into agreement. Longer these wars lasted betwixt them in Italy: their success like the sea they fought on, ebbing and flowing. In this costly war Pisa was first beggared; and for all her politic partaking, Genoa at last strode so heavy upon her, that ever since she hath drooped and hung the wing, and at this day is maid to Florence, who formerly was mistress of a good part of Italy. But I have no calling and less comfort to prosecute these bloody dissensions: for wars of Christians against Infidels are like the heat of exercise which serveth to keep the body of Christianity in health; but these civil wars amongst themselves, like the heat of a fever, dangerous, and destructive of religion.

CHAP. XXV.—*Charles made King of Sicily and Jerusalem by the Pope; Hugh King of Cyprus pretendeth also to go to Jerusalem.*

WE have now gotten Pantaleon, a Frenchman, who succeeded Robert in the titular patriarchship of Jerusalem, to be pope, by the name of Urban IV.¹ To advance the holy cause, after fourteen years *interregnum* in Syria, he appointed Charles duke of Anjou, younger brother to King Louis of France, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and it was ratified by Clement IV. his successor.

This honour was first offered to Louis himself; but piety had dried up in him all ambitious humours: then to our Henry of England; but his war-wasted purse could not stretch to the pope's price: at last, this Charles accepted it [1265]. But it is not for any special favour to the bush, if a man run under it in a storm: it was no love to Charles, but to himself, to be sheltered from Maufred, that the pope conferred this honour upon him. And the wife of Charles,

¹ Platina, in Urban IV.

that she might go in equipage with her three sisters, being queens, sold all her jewels to furnish her husband with money to purchase these kingdoms²; that sex loving bravery well, but greatness better.

Now the pope (whose well-grounded and bounded bounty will never undo him; for where he giveth away the meat he selleth the sauce), conditioned with Charles on these terms³: first, that he should conquer Maufred then king of Sicily, who molested the pope; and that he should finally subdue all the remaining race of Frederick II., emperor, who claimed that kingdom. Secondly, in acknowledgment that he held these kingdoms from the pope, he should pay him an annual pension of four (some say forty) thousand pounds. Provided, if this Charles should chance to be chosen emperor of Germany, that then he should either resign Sicily back again into the hands of his holiness, or not accept the empire⁴. For he knew that all emperors would be possessed with an antipapal spirit; and that they would hold Sicily, not in homage from the church, but as a member of the empire; besides, the pope would not dispense that princes should hold plurality of temporal dominions in Italy; especially, he was so ticklish he could not endure the same prince should embrace him on both sides.

Ever since, the twin titles of Sicily and Jerusalem have gone together; and fit it is that the shadow should follow the substance. Charles subdued Maufred and Conradin his nephew (the last of the Suabian race, and grandchild to Emperor Frederick), and was possessed of Sicily, and lived there; but as for the gaining of Jerusalem, he little regarded it, nor came thither at all: a watchful king, who never slept in his kingdom.

His absence gave occasion to Hugh king of Cyprus to refurbish up new his old title to the kingdom, as lineally descended from Almerick II⁵. And coming to Ptolemais, he there was crowned king of Jerusalem [Sept. 27, 1269]. but the extremity of the famine (all things being excessive dear) much abated the solemnity and state of his coronation.

² Besoldus, *De Reg. Sicil.* p. 645, 649.

³ See these conditions at large (five and twenty in number) out of Jo. Anton. Summont. cited in Besoldus, p. 647.

⁴ Platina, in Clem. IV.—*Nève Imperium Romanum, etiam ultrò oblatum, acciperet.*

⁵ Calvisius, in anno 1269, ex Marino Sanuto.

CHAP. XXVI.—*The Tartarians alienated from the Christians. Bendocdar tyrannizeth over them, and Louis King of France setteth forth again for to succour them.*

BUT betwixt two kings the kingdom went to the ground [1261]: for Haalon the Tartarian prince¹, and late Christian convert, was returned home to succeed his brother Mango in the empire, leaving Abaga his son with competent forces in the city of Damascus, which he had won from the Turks. Soon after, Abaga followed his father, and substituted Guirboca his lieutenant in Damascus.

This Guirboca, upon the the occasion of his nephew rashly slain by the Christians in a broil, fell off wholly from Christianity, with all the Tartarians his countrymen [1262]. The occasion this: the Dutch Christians return with great booty they had taken from the Turks; Guirboca's nephew meeteth them, demandeth it for himself²; the Christians deny him (as soldiers are very tender-conscienced in that point, counting it a great sin to part with the spoil they are possessed of): hence brawls, then blows; Guirboca's nephew is slain: hereat the Tartarians (who were very humorous in their friendship; if not observed to an inch, lost for ever), in discontent, all either reel aside to Mahomet, or fall back to paganism.

Herein the Christians cannot be excused: infant-converts must be well tended. It had been discretion in them, even against discretion to have yielded a little to these Tartarians, and so to continue their amity, which was so advantageous to the holy war. However, one may question the truth of their conversion, whether real at first: this spring was too forward to hold; and the speedy withering of their religion argueth it wanted root. And as tame foxes, if they break loose and return wild, do ten times more mischief than those which were wild from the beginning; so these renegadoes raged more furiously than any pagans against religion. Guirboca sacrificed many Christians to the ghost of his nephew, destroyed Cæsarea and burnt it, using all cruelty against the inhabitants.

Nor less were the Christians plagued at the same time with Bendocdar the mamaluke prince in Egypt; who succeeded Melechem, and every where raging against them, either killed or forced them to forswear their religion. The

¹ Calvisius, ex Marino Sanuto, in anno 1260.

² Magdeburg. Cent. 13, cap. 16, col. 699.

city of Joppa he took and burned [1268]; and then won Antioch, slaying therein twenty thousand, and carrying away captive a hundred thousand Christians. But it may justly be suspected that these numbers were written first in figures, and therefore at too much length, when the adding of nothing may increase many thousands.

These woful tidings brought into Europe, so wrought on the good disposition of Louis king of France, that he resolved to make a second voyage into Palestine to succour the Christians.

He so fixed his mind on the journey's end, that he saw not the dangers in the way. His counsel could not dissuade, though they did dissuade him. First, they urged, that he was old; let younger men take their turns: they recounted to him his former ill success; how lately had that hot country scorched the lilies of France, not only to the blasting of the leaves, but almost withering of the root! Besides, the sinews of the Christians in Syria were so shrunk, that though lifted up they could not stand; that nature decayed, but not thus wholly destroyed, was the subject of physic; that the Turks had got a habit of conquering, and riveted themselves into the possession of the country; so that this voyage would but fleet the cream of the kingdom to cast it into the fire.

But as a vehement flame maketh fuel of whatsoever it meeteth; so this king's earnest resolution turned bridles into spurs, and hinderances into motives to his journey. Was he old? let him make the more speed, lest envious death should prevent him of this occasion of honour. Had he sped ill formerly? he would seek his credit where he lost it: surely, Fortune's lottery had not all blanks, but that after long drawing he should light on a prize at last. Were the Christians in so low a case? the greater need they had of speedy help.

Thus was this good king's judgment over-zealed. And surely, though devotion be the natural heat, discretion (which wanted in him) is the radical moisture of an action, keeping it healthful, prosperous, and long-lived.

Well, King Louis will go, and to this end provideth his navy; and is accompanied with Philip and Tristram his sons, Theobald king of Navarre his son-in-law, Alphonse his brother, and Guido earl of Flanders. There went also Edward eldest son to Henry king of England. It was a wonder he would now adventure his head when he was to receive a crown, his father being full ripe to drop down without gathering, having reigned longer than most men

live, fifty and five years. But thirsty was this Edward of honour: Longshanks was he called; and as his strides were large, so vast and wide was the extent of his desire. As for his good father, he was content to let go the staff of his age for to be a prop to the church. And though King Louis was indiscreet in going this journey, he was wise in choosing this his companion, to have this active prince along with him; it being good to eye a suspicious person, and not to leave him behind.

With Edward went his brother Edmund earl of Lancaster, surnamed Crouchback; not that he was crookshouldered, or camelbacked: (from which our English poet most zealously doth vindicate him;

Edmund like him the comeliest prince alive,
Not crookback'd, ne in no wise disfigured,
As some men write, the right line to deprive,
Though great falsehood made it to be scripted³.)

but from the cross, anciently called a crouch (whence crouched friars) which now he wore in his voyage to Jerusalem. And yet it maketh it somewhat suspicious, that in Latin records he is never read with any other epithet than *Gibbosus*⁴. But be he crooked or not, let us on straight with our story.

CHAP. XXVII.—*King Louis besiegeth the City of Tunis. His Death and Commendation.*

LOUIS now having hoised up sail [1270], it was concluded, by the general consent of his council, that to secure and clear the Christians' passage to Palestine from pirates, they should first take the city of Carthage in Africa by the way.

This Carthage long wrestled with Rome for the sovereignty, and gave as many foils as she took, till Scipio at last crushed out her bowels with one deadly fall. Yet long after the city stood before wholly demolished, to be a spur to put mettle into the Romans, and to be a foreign mark for their arrows, lest otherwise they should shoot against themselves. At last by the counsel of Cato it was quite destroyed: who alleged, that it was not safe to have a knife so near their throat; and though good use might be made of an enemy at arm's end, yet it was dangerous to have him too close to one's side; as Carthage was within a day's sail from Rome.

³ Harding, chap. 147.

⁴ Vincent's Discoveries of Brook's Errours, Tit. Lancaster.

Out of the ruins of this famous city Tunis arose; as often a stinking elder groweth out of the place where an oak hath been felled. Thieving was their trading; but then as yet they were apprentices to piracy, whereof at this day they are grown masters. Yea, not considerable was Tunis then in bigness, great only in mischief. But as a small scratch just upon the turning of a joint is more troublesome than a bigger sore in another place, so this paltry town (the refuge of rogues, and wanderers home), seated in the passage betwixt Europe, Asia, and Africa, was a worse annoyance to Christian traffic, than a whole country of Saracens elsewhere. Wherefore both to revenge the blood of many Christians, who passing this way to Palestine were either killed or taken captive, as also to secure the way for the time to come, Louis with his whole fleet (augmented with the navy of Charles king of Sicily and Jerusalem, his brother) bent his course to besiege it.

It was concluded both unnecessary and unfitting, first in a fair way to summon the city; because like pernicious vermin they were to be rooted out of the world by any means; nor was it meet to lavish the solemn ceremonies of war on a company of thieves and murderers.

The siege was no sooner begun but the plague seized on the Christian army, whereof thousands died; amongst others, Tristram King Louis's son: and he himself of a flux followed after. This Louis was the French Josiah, both for the piety of his life, and wofulness of his death, engaging himself in a needless war. Many good laws he made for his kingdom: that not the worst, he first retrenched his barons' power to suffer parties to try their intricate titles to land by duels¹. He severely punished blasphemers, searing their lips with a hot iron². And because by his command it was executed upon a great rich citizen of Paris, some said he was a tyrant: he, hearing it, said before many, I would to God that with searing my own lips I could banish out of my realm all abuse of oaths. He loved more to hear sermons than to be present at mass; whereas on the contrary our Henry III. said, he had rather see his God than hear another speak of him though never so well³. His body was carried into France, there to be buried, and was most miserably tossed; it being observed, that the sea

¹ Sir Walter Raleigh, Hist. part 1, lib. 5, cap. 3.

² Alfonso Villeg. in the Life of St. Louis.

³ Continuat. Matth. Paris, in anno 1273.

cannot digest the crudity of a dead corpse, being a due debt to be interred where it dieth; and a ship cannot abide to be made a bier of. He was sainted after his death by Boniface VIII., and the five and twentieth day of August (on which day in his first voyage to Palestine he went on shipboard) is consecrated to his memory. Herein he had better luck than as good a man, I mean our Henry VI., who could not be canonized without a mighty sum of money; belike angels making saints at Rome.

CHAP. XXVIII.—*Tunis taken. The French return home, whilst our Edward valiantly setteth forward for Palestine.*

BY this time Tunis was brought to great distress, and at last on these conditions surrendered [1271]; that it should pay yearly to Charles king of Sicily and Jerusalem forty thousand crowns; that it should receive Christian ministers, freely to exercise their religion; if any Saracen would be baptized, he should be suffered; that all Christian captives should be set free; that they should pay back so much money as should defray the Christians' charges in this voyage. Our Edward would needs have had the town beaten down, and all put to the sword, thinking the foulest quarter too fair for them. Their goods (because got by robbery) he would have sacrificed as an *anathema* to God, and burnt to ashes: his own share he execrated, and caused it to be burnt, forbidding the English to save any thing of it; because that coals stolen out of that fire would sooner burn their houses than warm their hands. It troubled not the consciences of other princes to enrich themselves herewith, but they glutted themselves with the stolen honey which they found in this hive of drones; and which was worse, now their bellies were full they would go to bed, return home, and go no further. Yea, the young king of France, called Philip the Bold, was fearful to prosecute his journey to Palestine; whereas Prince Edward struck his breast, and swore, that though all his friends forsook him, yet he would enter Ptolemais, though but only with Fowin his horsekeeper. By which speech he incensed the English to go on with him.

The rest, pleading the distemperature of the weather, went to Sicily, in hope with change of air to recover their health; where many of them found what they sought to avoid, death: amongst other, Theobald king of Navarre, and Isabel his wife, and William earl of Flanders, who ended their days at Drepanum. Besides, their navy was

pursuivant after with a horrible tempest, and a curse (entailed either on their ill-gotten goods, or deserting God's cause, or both) arrested them in their return, so that of this great wealth little was landed in Europe, their ships being wrecked, and the goods therein cast into the sea, with which the waves played a little, and then chopped them up at a morsel. Whilst the weather, frowning on them, smiled on the English, Prince Edward no whit damnified either in his men or ships, with Eleanor his tender consort then young with child, safely arrived at Ptolemais, to the great solace and comfort of the Christians there being in great distress.

CHAP. XXIX.—*Prince Edward's Performance in Palestine.*

He is dangerously wounded, yet recovereth, and returneth home safe.

AT his arrival the last stake of the Christians was on losing; for Bendocdar, the mamaluke prince of Egypt and Syria, had brought Ptolemais to so low an ebb, that they therein resolved (if some unexpected succour reversed not their intentions) within three days to resign the city unto him. Edward landing stayed this precipitation, who arrived with his army there in the very *interim*, in opportunity itself, which is the very quintessence of time; so that all concluded his coming (thus hitting the mark) was guided by the hand of an especial providence.

And now those who before in despair would have thrown up their cards, hope at least to make a saving game; and the Christians, taking comfort and courage, both defy their enemies, and their own thoughts of surrendering the city. Prince Edward having sufficiently manned and victualled Ptolemais, taking six or seven thousand soldiers, marched to Nazareth, which he took, and slew those he found there. After this, about midsummer, understanding the Turks were gathered together at Cakhow forty miles off, very early in the morning he set upon them, slew a thousand, and put the rest to flight.

In these skirmishes he gave evident testimonies of his personal valour; yea, in cold blood he would boldly challenge any infidel to a duel. To speak truth, this his conceived perfection was his greatest imperfection; for the world was abundantly satisfied in the point of his valour, yet such was his confidence of his strength, and eagerness of honour, that having merited the esteem of a most stout man, he would still supererogate; yea, he would proffer to

fight with any mean person, if cried up by the *volge* for a tall man; this daring being a general fault in great spirits, and a great fault in a general, who staketh a pearl against a piece of glass. The best was, in that age a man fighting with sword and buckler had in a manner many lives to lose; and duels were not dangerous.

Whilst he stayed at Ptolemais, Eleanor his lady was delivered of a fair daughter, called from her birthplace Joan of Acre; but fear of her husband's death abated her joy at her daughter's birth. The Turks, not matching him in valour, thought to master him with treachery, which was thus contrived:—The admiral of Joppa, a Turk, pretended he would turn Christian, and employed one Anzazim, an Assassin, in the business betwixt him and Prince Edward; who carried himself so cunningly, that by often repairing to our prince he got much credit and esteem with him.

Some write¹, this Anzazim was before always bred under ground (as men keep hawks and war-horses in the dark, to make them more fierce), that so coming abroad, he should fear to venture on no man. But sure so cunning a companion had long conversed with light, and been acquainted with men, yea, Christians and princes, as appeareth by his complying carriage; else, if he had not been well read in their company, he could not have been so perfect in his lesson. But let him be bred any where, or in hell itself; for this was his religion, to kill any he was commanded, or on the nonperformance willingly to forfeit his life.

1272.] The fifth time of his coming he brought Prince Edward letters from his master, which whilst he was reading alone and lying on his bed, he struck him into the arm with an envenomed knife. Being about to fetch another stroke, the prince with his foot gave him such a blow that he felled him to the ground, and wresting the knife from him, ran the Turk into the belly, and slew him; yet so, that in struggling he hurt himself therewith in the forehead. At this noise in sprang his servants, and one of them with a stool beat the brains out of the dead Turk's head, showing little wit in his own; and the prince was highly displeased, that the monument of his valour should be stained with another's cruelty.

It is storied, how Eleanor his lady sucked all the poison out of his wounds², without doing any harm to herself; so

¹ Continuat. Matth. Paris, in anno 1272, p. 1345.

² Speed, in Edward I.

sovereign a medicine is a woman's tongue, anointed with the virtue of loving affection. Pity it is so pretty a story should not be true (with all the miracles in *Lovers' Legends*), and sure he shall get himself no credit, who undertaketh to confute a passage so sounding to the honour of the sex; yet can it not stand with what others have written³, how the physician who was to dress his wounds spake to the Lord Edmund and the Lord John Voysey to take away Lady Eleanor out of the prince's presence, lest her pity should be cruel towards him, in not suffering his sores to be searched to the quick. And though she cried out and wrung her hands, "Madam," said they, "be contented; it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should lament a great season:" and so they conducted her out of the place. And the prince, by the benefit of physic, good attendance, and an antidote the master of the Templars gave him, showed himself on horseback whole and well within fifteen days after.

The admiral of Joppa, hearing of his recovery, utterly disavowed that he had any hand in the treachery, as none will willingly father unsucceeding villany. True it is, he was truly sorrowful, whether because Edward was so bad, or no worse wounded, he knoweth that knoweth hearts. Some wholly acquit him herein⁴, and conceive this mischief proceeded from Simon earl of Montfort's hatred to our prince, who bearing him and all his kindred an old grudge for doing some conceived wrong to his father (in very deed, nothing but justice to a rebel), hired, as they think, this Assassin to murder him; as a little before, for the same quarrel, he had served Henry son to Richard king of the Romans, and our Edward's cousin german, at Viterbo in Italy. It is much this Simon living in France should contrive this prince's death in Palestine; but malice hath long arms, and can take men off at great distance. Yea, this addeth to the cunning of the engineer, to work unseen; and the further from him the blow is given, the less is he himself suspected.

Whosoever plotted, God prevented it, and the Christians there would have revenged it, but Edward would not suffer them. In all haste they would have marched and fallen on the Turks, had not he dissuaded them⁵, because then

³ See Fox, *Martyrol.* p. 337. ⁴ P. Æmil. D. Ludov. p. 227.

⁵ Continuat. Matth. Paris, in anno 1272, p. 1347.

many Christians unarmed, and in small companies, were gone to visit the sepulchre, all whose throats had then probably been cut before their return.

Eighteen months he stayed at Ptolemais, and then came back through Italy, without doing any extraordinary matter in Palestine. What music can one string make when all the rest are broken? what could Edward do alone, when those princes fell back on whom the project most relied? Louis and Charles were the main undertakers; Edward entertained but as an adventurer and sharer: and so he furnished himself, accordingly, with competent forces to succour others, but not to subsist of themselves. But as too often, where the principal miscarrieth, the second and sureties must lie at the stake to make the debt good; so in their default he valiantly went forward, though having in all but thirteen ships and some thousands of men (too many for a plain prince to visit with, and too few for a great one to war with), and performed what lay within the compass of his power. In a word, his coming to Ptolemais, and assisting them there, was like a cordial given to a dying man, which doth piece out his life (or death rather), a few groans and as many gasps the longer.

By this time Henry his aged father being dead (his lamp not quenched but going out for want of oil), the English nobility came as far as the Alps in Savoy to wait on Edward in his return. Leave we him then to be attended home by them to receive the crown, to which no less his virtues than birth entitled him. Since the Conquest he was the first king of his name, and the first that settled the law and state (deserving the style of England's Justinian⁶) and that freed this kingdom from the wardship of the peers, showing himself, in all his actions after, capable to command not the realm only but the whole world.

CHAP. XXX.—*Rodolph the Emperor's Voyage to Palestine hindered. The Duke of Mecklenburg's Captivity and Enlargement.*

BEFORE Edward's departure, Hugh king of Jerusalem and Cyprus concluded a peace (to our prince's small liking¹) with the mamaluke sultan of Egypt, to hold only in and near Ptolemais; whereby the Christians had some breathing time. But that which now possessed all men's

⁶ Sir Robert Cotton, in his Henry III.

¹ Marinus Sanutus.

thoughts and talk in Syria, was the expectation of Rodolph to come thither with a great army; who (after two and twenty years' *interregnum*) was chosen emperor of Germany.

1273.] This Rodolph was a mean earl of Hapsburg (Frederick the last emperor was his godfather²; who little thought, that having so many sons of his own, his godson should next succeed him), and lived in a private way. But now the empire refusing her rich suitors, married this earl without any portion, only for pure love. A preferment beyond his expectation, not above his deserts; for Germany had many bigger lights, none brighter. Pope Gregory X. would not ratify his election but on this condition, that he should in person march with an army to Palestine. And though this was but an old policy, to send the emperors far away, that so he might command in chief in their absence; yet his holiness did so turn and dress this threadbare plot with specious pretences of piety, that it passed for new and fresh, especially to those that beheld it at a distance. But Rodolph could not be spared out of Germany, being there employed in civil discords; the knees of the Dutch princes were too stiff to do him homage, till he softened them by degrees. And indeed he was not provided for the holy war, and wanted a stock of his own to drive so costly a trade, having no paternal lands considerable, no bottom to begin on; though through his thrift and providence he first laid the foundation of the Austrian family.

1275.] Yet somewhat to answer expectation, he sent Henry duke of Mecklenburg with competent forces into Palestine; who, coming to Ptolemais, made many notable incursions into the country about Damascus, with fire and sword destroying all as he went, and carrying thence many rich booties; till at last he was circumvented and taken prisoner by the mamalukes. Twenty-six years he lived in captivity, keeping his conscience free all the while; at last the sultan of Egypt (a renegado German, who formerly had been engineer to this duke's father) set him at liberty, together with Martin his servant; that he who so long had shared of his misery, might also partake of his happiness. No sooner had this duke put to sea, but he was again taken by pirates, and the sultan, out of pity to this distressed prince, and out of scorn that fortune should frustrate and defeat his real courtesy, set him free again. At last he

² Pantal. De illustr. Germ. part 2, in Vita Rodulphi.

came safely home, and was there welcomed with as much wonder as joy; his subjects conceiving his return a resurrection, having buried him in their thoughts long before.

Here he found two counterfeits, who pretended themselves to be this duke, and on that title challenged lodging with Anastasia his lady³. But the one of them had a softer bedfellow provided him, a pool of water, wherein he was drowned; the other was made a bonfire of, to solemnize the joy of the duke's return.

CHAP. XXXI.—*Charles King of Jerusalem. His Intentions in Syria stopped by the Sicilian Vespers. His Death, and Son's Succession.*

BY this time Charles king of Jerusalem and Sicily had made great preparations for the holy war. And to make his claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem the stronger, he bought also the title of Maria Domicella princess of Antioch, who pretended a right to the same. He sent also Roger the count of St. Severine as his viceroy to Ptolemais; where he was honourably received in despite of Hugh king of Cyprus, by the especial favour of Albertine Morisine the Venetian consul there. And now his navy was reported to be ready, and that by the way he had a project upon Michael Paleologus the emperor of Greece: when all his intentions were suddenly blasted; it so happening, that on Easter day [1282], as the bell tolled to even-song, all the throats of the Frenchmen in Sicily were cut in a moment by the natives thereof, and that island won by Peter king of Aragon. The grand contriver of this massacre was one Jacobus Prochyta a physician, and I dare say he killed more in an hour than he cured all his lifetime.

Those that condemn the Sicilians herein, cannot excuse the French; such formerly had been their pride, lust, covetousness, and cruelty to the people of that island, putting them causelessly to exquisite torture, so that an ordinary hanging was counted an extraordinary favour. But the secrecy of contriving this slaughter of the French was little less than miraculous; that so many knowing it none should discover it; like cunning dogs, barking in triumph after they had bitten, not before, to give any warning. Hence grew the proverb of the *Sicilian Vespers*; though their even-song was nothing to the English matins intended in the gunpowder-treason. Meantime King Charles was at

³ Pantal. De. illustr. Germ. part 2, p. 245.

Rome, beholding the making of cardinals, when this doleful news was brought unto him, and struck him to the heart. He survived a year or two longer, but dull and melancholic, living as it were without life, and died at last, having reigned king of Jerusalem twenty years: a prince who had tasted of various success; fortune for a while smiling on him, and at last laughing at him.

1284.] His son Charles succeeded him in the kingdom of Naples and in the title of Jerusalem. He was surnamed *Cunctator*, delayer; not in the same sense as Fabius the shield of Rome was so called: he only stayed till opportunity was come; our Charles till it was passed. I find nothing memorable of him except this, that offended with the Templars in Palestine for taking part against him with the king of Cyprus, he seized on their lands, and confiscated all their goods they had in Naples or any other part of his dominions. However, let him have room in the catalogue of our kings of Jerusalem. For as high hills near the sea-side, though otherwise never so base and barren ground, yet will serve to be sea-marks for the direction of mariners; so this Charles, together with Hugh, John, and Henry, kings of Cyprus, pretending also to Jerusalem, though we read nothing remarkable of them, will become the front of a page, and serve to divide and distinguish times, and to parcel the history the better to our apprehension. As for the bare anatomy of their reign (for we find it not fleshed with any history), with the dates of their beginnings and endings, we shall present it to the reader hereafter in our chronology.

CHAP. XXXII.—*The Succession of the Mamaluke Princes in Egypt. Alphir taketh Tripoli and Tyre. The woful Estate of Ptolemais.*

BUT whilst these titular kings slept, the mamaluke princes were vigilant to infest the relics of the Christians in Palestine: which prince's succession we will adventure to set down; nor are we discouraged with the difficulties which encounter us herein. The hardness in the story of the mamalukes proceedeth (as we conceive) from one of these causes:—First, the state is not written directly, but by reflection; not storied by any constant writer of their own, but in snaps and parcels, as the chroniclers of neighbouring Christian countries have caught at them. Secondly, out of a popular error, their chief captains by reason of their large authority pass for absolute kings.

Thirdly, the same king hath many names, and the same name by translation in sundry languages is strangely disguised. However, we will use our best conjectures in these uncertainties: and a dim candle is better than no light.

Bendocdar or Bandodacar, otherwise Melechdaer, was the last Egyptian prince we mentioned: a dangerous man to the Christians, but that Abaga the Tartarian took him to task, and kept him in continual employment. This Abaga had a pretty trick to make cowards valiant, causing them that ran away from the battle, ever after to wear women's clothes. Bendocdar died at Damascus of a wound he received in Armenia¹; or, as some say, by cold, in swimming over Euphrates.

Elpis succeeded him, his son² (say some); but the mamalukes' laws forbid that, except his extraordinary worth was his faculty, and dispensed with him *ad succedendum patri*. But who knoweth not that the eastern tongue speaketh nephews and kinsmen to be sons? Some wholly omit him; enough to make us suspect that he was only some deputy clapped in to stop up the vacancy till Melechsaites was chosen.

Melechsaites (called by Marinus, Melechmessor) won the strong castle of Mergath from the Hospitallers. He much loved and was very bountiful to the Carmelites, who lived dispersed in Syria: but afterwards he banished them out of his country [1285], because they altered their habit, and wore white coats at the appointment of Pope Honorius; the Turks being generally enemies to innovations, and loving constancy [in old customs. Nor was this any mishap but an advantage to the Carmelites, to lose their dwellings in Syria, and gain better in Europe, where they planted themselves in the fattest places: so that he who knoweth not to choose good ground, let him find out a house of the Carmelites (a mark that faileth not) for his direction.

1289.] Alpher was next to Melechsaites, otherwise called Elsi. He, perceiving that now or never was the time finally to expel the Christians out of Palestine, whilst the princes in Europe were in civil wars, besieged and won Tripoli, Sidon, Berytus, and Tyre, beating them down to the ground, but suffering the inhabitants on some conditions to depart. Nothing now was left but Ptolemais: which

¹ Vide Calvisium in anno 1277, et Magdeburg. Cent. 13.

² Magdeburg. Cent. 13. cap. 16, col. 701.

Alphir would not presently besiege, lest he should draw the Christians in Europe upon him ; but concluded a peace for five years with the Venetians, as not willing wholly to exasperate them, by winning all from them at once, and thinking this bitter potion would be better swallowed by them at two several draughts.

Meantime Ptolemais was in a woful condition. In it were some of all countries ; so that he who had lost his nation might find it here. Most of them had several courts to decide their causes in ; and the plenty of judges caused the scarcity of justice, malefactors appealing to a trial in the courts of their own country. It was sufficient innocency for any offender in the Venetian court, that he was a Venetian. Personal acts were intituled national, and made the cause of the country. Outrages were every where practised, no where punished ; as if to spare divine revenge the pains of overtaking them, they would go forth and meet it. At the same time, there were in fitters about prosecuting their titles to this city, no fewer than the Venetians, Genoans, Pisans, Florentines, the kings of Cyprus and Sicily, the agents for the kings of France and England, the princes of Tripoli and Antioch, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers, and (whom I should have named first) the legate of his holiness, all at once with much violence contending about the right of right nothing, the title to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and command of this city ; like bees, making the greatest humming and buzzing in the hive, when now ready to leave it.

CHAP. XXXIII.—*Ptolemais besieged, and taken by Sultan Serapha.*

WITHIN the city were many voluntaries lately come over, five hundred whereof were of the pope's furnishing. But belike he failed afterwards in his payment to them, the golden tide flowing not so fast out as into his holiness's coffers. The soldiers being not paid, according to their blunt manners, would pay themselves ; and, marching out, pillaged the country contrary to the truce : Sultan Serapha (who succeeded Alphir) demanding restitution, is denied, and his ambassadors ill entreated.

1290.] Hereupon he sitteth down before the city with six hundred thousand men. But we are not bound to believe that Alexander's soldiers were so big as their shields speak them, which they left in India, nor Asian armies so numerous as they are reported. Allow the Turks' dominions

spacious and populous, and that they rather drained than chose soldiers; yet we had best credit the most niggardly writers, which make them a hundred and fifty thousand. Serapha resolveth to take it, conceiving so convenient a purchase could not be over-bought: the place, though not great, yet was a mote in the eye of the Turkish empire, and therefore pained them.

Peter Belvise master of the Templars, a valiant captain, had the command of the city assigned him by general consent. He encouraged the Christians to be valiant, not like prodigal heirs to lose this city for nothing which cost their grandfathers so much blood; at least let them give one blaze of valour ere their candle went out. How should they show their friends their faces, if they showed their foes their backs! Let them fight it out manfully; that so, if forced at last to surrender it, they might rather be pitied for want of fortune, than justly blamed for lack of valour.

And now Ptolemais, being to wrestle her last fall, stripped herself of all cumbersome clothes: women, children, aged persons, weak folks (all such hindering help, and mouths without arms), were sent away; and twelve thousand remained, conceived competent to make good the place.

Serapha marcheth up furiously; his men assault the city, with open jaws ready to devour it, had not their mouths been stopped with the artillery the Christians shot at them. Back they were beaten, and many a Turk slain. But Serapha was no whit sensible thereof: who willingly would lose a thousand men in a morning for a breakfast, double so many at a dinner, and continue this costly ordinary for some days together; yea, in spite, he would spend an ounce of Turkish blood, to draw a drop of Christian.

In this conflict Peter Belvise was slain with a poisoned arrow: a loss above grieving for. Many were strong in desiring the honour, who were weak to discharge the office. But the worst mischief was, the Christians were divided amongst themselves, and neglected to defend the city, conceiving that though that was taken, yet every particular nation could defend itself, having their buildings severally fortified: and this dangerous fancy took off their thoughts from the public good, and fixed them on their private ends. Meantime, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and others (some name with them Henry king of Jerusalem and Cyprus), more seeking their safety than honour, secretly fled (with their bodies after their hearts) out of the city; and some of them, shunning a noble death, fell on a base end, being

drowned in the sea. Their cowardliness is imputed by some authors to all the rest ; whereas it appeareth on the contrary, they most valiantly behaved themselves.

1291.] At last, the Turks entered the city by undermining the walls, and conceived their work now done, when it was new begun. For they found Ptolemais not a city but a heap of cities thrown together ; wherein the people of every country so fenced themselves in their several forts, that they powdered the Turks with their shot when they entered the streets. It is hardly to be paralleled in any siege, that a taken city was so long before it was taken ; for it held out fifty days ; and the Knights-hospitallers made good their castle for two whole months together¹. But, alas ! as the several parts of *Insecta* being cut asunder may wriggle and stir for a while, not live long ; so these divided limbs could not long subsist, and at last most of them were slain.

Yet was it a bloody victory to the Turks ; most of them that entered the city being either burned with fire, or killed with arrows, or smothered with the fall of towers, the very ruins (as thirsty of revenge) killing those that ruined them.

Serapha evened all to the ground, and (lest the Christians should ever after land here) demolished all buildings ; the Turks holding this position, that the best way to be rid of such vermin is to shave the hair clean off, and to destroy all places wherein they may nestle themselves.

Some say, he ploughed the ground whereon the city stood, and sowed it with corn : but an eyewitness affirmeth², that still there remain magnificent ruins, seeming rather wholly to consist of divers conjoined castles, than any way intermingled with private dwellings.

No fewer than a hundred thousand Latin Christians (all that were left in Syria) fled at this time into Cyprus. It is strange what is reported, that above five hundred matrons and virgins of noble blood, standing upon the shore of Ptolemais, and having all their richest jewels with them, cried out with lamentable voice, and proffered to any mariner that would undertake safely to land them any where, all their wealth for his hire, and also that he should choose any one of them for his wife. Then a certain mariner came, and transporting them all freely, safely landed them in Cyprus ; nor by any inquiry could it after be known (when

¹ Lampad. Mellif. Hist. part 3, p. 313.

² Sand. Trav. p. 204.

he was sought for to receive his hire) who this mariner was, nor whither he went³.

The Hospitallers for haste were fain to leave their treasure behind them, and hide it in a vault; which, being made known from time to time to their successors, was fetched from thence by the galleys of Malta, about three hundred years afterwards⁴.

Henry king of Cyprus, to his great cost and greater commendation, gave free entertainment to all pilgrims that fled hither, till such time as they could be transported to their own countries; and thanks was all the shot expected of these guests at their departure.

Thus after a hundred ninety and four years ended the Holy War; for continuance the longest, for money spent the costliest, for bloodshed the cruelest, for pretences the most pious, for the true intent the most politic the world ever saw. And at this day, the Turks, to spare the Christians their pains of coming so long a journey to Palestine, have done them the unwelcome courtesy to come more than half the way to give them a meeting.

³ Lampad. p. 312.

⁴ Sand. Trav. p. 204.





BOOK V. (SUPPLEMENT).

CHAP. I.—*The Executing of the Templars in France.*

MY task is done. Whatsoever remaineth is voluntary and over-measure, only to hem the end of our history that it ravel not out: as to show what became of the Templars, the Teutonic order, and the Hospitallers; what were the hinderances of this war; what nation best deserved in it; what offers were afterwards made to recover Jerusalem; by how many challengers that title at this day is claimed; what is the present strength of Jerusalem; what hope to regain it; with some other passages which offer attendance on these principal heads.

Know then, some nineteen years after the Christians had lost all in Palestine, the Templars, by the cruel deed of Pope Clement V., and foul fact of Philip the Fair king of France, were finally extirpated out of all Christendom [1310]¹. The history thereof is but in twilight, not clearly delivered, but darkened with many doubts and difficulties: we must pick out letters and syllables here and there as well as we may; all which put together spell thus much.

Pope Clement, having long sojourned in France, had received many real courtesies from Philip the king; yea, he owed little less than himself to him. At last, Philip requested of him a boon, great enough for a king to ask and a pope to grant; namely, all the lands of the Knights Templars through France, forfeited by reason of their horrible heresies and licentious living. The pope was willing to gratify him in some good proportion for his favours received (as thankfulness is always the badge of a good nature), and therefore being thus long the king's guest, he gave him the Templars' lands and goods to pay for his entertainment.

On a sudden all the Templars in France they clapped into prison, wisely catching those lions in a net, which, had

¹ Sabellicus, Enn. 9, lib. 7. Platina, in Vita Clem. V.

they been fairly hunted to death, would have made their part good with all the dogs in France. Damnable sins were laid to their charge; as, sacrificing of men to an idol they worshipped, roasting of a Templar's bastard and drinking his blood, spitting upon the cross of Christ, conspiring with Turks and Saracens against Christianity, sodomy, bestiality, with many other villanies out of the road of human corruption, and as far from man's nature as God's law.

Well, the Templars thus shut in prison, their crimes were half proved. The sole witness against them was one of their own order, a notorious malefactor; who at the same time being in prison and to suffer for his own offences, condemned by the master of their order, sought to prove his own innocence by charging all his own order to be guilty. And his case standing thus, he must either kill or be killed, die or put others to death, he would be sure to provide water enough to drive the mill, and swore most heartily to whatsoever was objected against the order. Besides, the Templars, being brought upon the rack, confessed the accusations to be true wherewith they were charged. Hereupon all the Templars through France were most cruelly burned to death at a stake, with James the grand master of their order.

CHAP. II.—*Arguments produced on either Side, both for the Innocency and Guiltiness of the Templars.*

THERE is scarce a harder question in later history than this: whether the Templars justly or unjustly were condemned to suffer. On the one side it is dangerous to affirm they were innocent, because condemned by the pope, infallible in matters of such consequence. This bugbear affrighteth many, and maketh their hands shake when they write hereof. If they should say the Templars were burned wrongfully, they may be fetched over the coals themselves for charging his holiness so deeply; yea, hereby they bring so much innocent blood on the pope's head as is enough to drown him; some therefore in this matter know little, and dare speak less, for fear of afterclaps. Secondly, some who suspect that one eye of the church may be dim, yet hold that both the eyes, the pope and general council together, cannot be deceived.

Now the council of Vienne countenanced the extirpation of the Templars, determined the dissolution of their order,

and adjudged their lands to be conferred to the Knights-hospitallers. Men ought then to be well advised how they condemn a general council to be accessory *post factum* to the murder of so many men.

For all this, those who dare not hollow do whisper on the other side, accounting the Templars not malefactors but martyrs: first, because the witness was insufficient, a malefactor against his judge; and secondly, they bring tortured men against themselves. Yea, there want not those that maintain that a confession extorted on the rack is of no validity. If they be weak men and unable to endure torment, they will speak any thing; and in this case their words are endited not from their heart but outward limbs that are in pain; and a poor conquest it is, to make either the hand of a child to beat or the tongue of the tortured man to accuse himself. If they be sturdy and stubborn, whose backs are paved against torments, such as bring brazen sides against steely whips, they will confess nothing. And though these Templars were stout and valiant men, yet it is to be commended to one's consideration, whether slavish and servile souls will not better bear torment, than generous spirits, who are for the enduring of honourable danger and speedy death, but not provided for torment, which they are not acquainted with, neither is it the proper object of valour.

Again, it is produced in their behalf, that being burned at the stake, they denied it at their death, though formerly they had confessed it; and whose charity, if not stark-blind, will not be so tender-eyed as to believe that they would not breathe out their soul with a lie, and wilfully contract a new guilt in that very instant wherein they were to be arraigned before the Judge of heaven. A Templar being to be burned at Bourdeaux, and seeing the pope and King Philip looking out at a window, cried unto them, "Clement thou cruel tyrant, seeing there is no higher amongst mortal men to whom I should appeal for my unjust death, I cite thee together with King Philip to the tribunal of Christ, the just Judge who redeemed me, there both to appear within one year and a day, where I will lay open my cause, and justice shall be done without any by-respect¹." In like manner, James grand master of the Templars, though by piecemeal he was tortured to death, craved pardon of God, and those of his order, that forced by extremity of pain on

¹ Hospin. De Orig. Mon. cap. 18, p. 193.

the rack, and allured with hope of life, he had accused them of such damnable sins, whereof they were innocent².

Moreover, the people with their suffrage acquitted them: happy was he that could get a handful of their ashes into his bosom, as the relic of pious martyrs, to preserve. Indeed little heed is to be given to people's humours; whose judgment is nothing but prejudice and passion, and commonly envy all in prosperity, pity all in adversity, though often both undeservedly: and we may believe that the beholding of the Templars' torments when they were burned, wrought in the people first a commiserating of their persons, and so by degrees a justifying of their cause. However *vulgus non semper errat, aliquando eligit*: and though it matters little for the gales of a private man's fancy, yet it is something when the wind bloweth from all corners: and true it is, they were generally cried up for innocents.

Lastly, Pope Clement and King Philip were within the time prefixed summoned by death to answer to God for what they had done. And though it is bad to be busy with God's secrets, yet an argument drawn from the event, especially when it goeth in company with others, as it is not much to be depended on, so it is not wholly to be neglected. Besides, King Philip missed of his expectation, and the morsel fell beside his mouth; for the lands of the Templars, which were first granted to him as a portion for his youngest son, were afterwards, by the council of Vienne, bestowed on the Knights-hospitallers.

CHAP. III.—*A moderate Way what is to be conceived of the Suppression of the Templars.*

BETWIXT the two extremities of those that count these Templars either malefactors or martyrs, some find a middle way; whose verdict we will parcel into these several particulars.

1. No doubt there were many novices and punies amongst them, newly admitted into their order; which, if at all, were little guilty; for none can be fledged in wickedness at their first hatching: to these much mercy belonged: the punishing of others might have been an admonition to them; and cruelty it was, where there were degrees of offences, to inflict the same punishment, and to put all of them to death.

2. Surely many of them were most heinous offenders.

² P. Æmil. in Philippo Pulchro.

Not to speak what they deserved from God (who needeth not pick a quarrel with man, but always hath a just controversy with him), they are accounted notorious transgressors of human laws; yet perchance if the same candle had been lighted to search, as much dust and dirt might have been found in other orders.

3. They are conceived in general to be guiltless and innocent from those damnable sins wherewith they were charged¹; which heinous offences were laid against them, either because men out of modesty and holy horror should be ashamed and afraid to dive deep in searching the groundwork and bottom of these accusations, but rather take them to be true on the credit of the accusers; or that the world might the more easily be induced to believe the crimes objected to be true, as conceiving otherwise none would be so devilish as to lay such devilish offences to their charge; or lastly, if the crimes were not believed in the total sum, yet if credited in some competent portion, the least particular should be enough to do the deed, and to make them odious in the world.

4. The chief cause of their ruin was their extraordinary wealth: they were feared of many, envied of more, loved of none. As Naboth's vineyard was the chiefest ground for his blasphemy, and as, in England, Sir John Cornwall Lord Fanhop said merrily, that not he, but his stately house at Ampthill in Bedfordshire, was guilty of high treason²; so certainly their wealth was the principal evidence against them, and cause of their overthrow. It is quarrel and cause enough, to bring a sheep that is fat to the shambles. We may believe King Philip would never have took away their lives if he might have took their lands without putting them to death; but the mischief was, he could not get the honey unless he burned the bees.

Some will say, the Hospitallers had great, yea, greater revenues, nineteen thousand manors to the Templars' nine thousand; yet none envied their wealth. It is true: but then they busied themselves in defending of Christendom, maintaining the island of Rhodes against the Turks, as the Teutonic order defended Prussia against the Tartarian; the world therefore never grudged them great wages who did good work. These were accounted necessary members of Christendom, the Templars esteemed but a superfluous

¹ Urspergens. Paralip. p. 368. Antoninus, tit. 21, cap. 1, § 3:

² Camden's Brit. in Bedfordshire.

wen; they lay at rack and manger, and did nothing: who had they betook themselves to any honourable employment, to take the Turks to task either in Europe or Asia, their happiness had been less repined at, and their overthrow more lamented. And certain it is, that this their idleness disposed them for other vices; as standing waters are most subject to putrefy.

I hear one bird³ sing a different note from all the rest in the wood; namely, that what specious shows soever were pretended, the true cause of their ruin was, that they began to desert the pope and adhere to the emperor. If this was true, no doubt, they were deeply guilty, and deserved the hard measure they suffered. Sure I am, however at this time they might turn edge, they had formerly been true blades for his holiness.

All Europe followed the copy that France had set them. Here in England King Edward, the second of that name, suppressed the order, and put them to death; so by virtue of a writ sent from him to Sir John Wogan, lord chief justice in Ireland, were they served there; and such was the secrecy of the contrivance of the business, that the storm fell upon them before they saw it, and all crannies were so closely stopped that none could steal a glimpse of the mischief intended against them.

1311.] In Germany they found some mercy and milder dealing; for Hugh Wildgrave coming with twenty of his order all in armour into a council of Dutch bishops, who intended to execute the sentence of the pope upon them, there protested his innocency, and appealed to the next pope who should succeed Clement, as to his competent judge⁴. Hereupon their lives were spared; only they were forced to renounce the name of Templars, and to enter themselves into other orders, chiefly of Hospitallers and Teutonics, on whom their lands were bestowed. We will conclude all with that resolution of a brace of Spanish writers⁵, who make this epilogue to this woful tragedy: Concerning these Templars, whether they were guilty or not, let us suspend our censure till the day of judgment; and then, and no sooner, shall we certainly be informed therein.

³ Joach. Stephanus, De Jurisdictione, lib. 4, cap. 10, § 18.

⁴ Hospin. De Orig. Mon. cap. 18, p. 193.

⁵ Hieronimo Romano, De la Republica Christ. lib. 7, cap. 6; et Pero Mexya, De la Silva de varia licion, lib. 2, cap. 5.

CHAP. IV.—*Of the Teutonic Order; when they left Palestine, and on what Conditions they were entertained in Prussia. Their Order at last dissolved.*

FREQUENT mention hath been formerly made of the Teutonic order, or that of Dutch knights, who behaved themselves right valiantly clean through the holy war; and, which soundeth much to their honour, they cannot be touched either for treason or faction, but were both loyal and peaceable in the whole service.

But at last they perceived, that by the course of the cards they must needs rise losers if they continued the war in the Holy Land, and even resolved to abandon it. It happened at the same time that Conrad duke of Masovia offered them most honourable conditions; namely, the enjoying of Prussia, on condition they would defend it against the infidels who annoyed it. Indeed the *fratres gladiiferi*, or sword-bearing brothers, brave slashing lads, undertook the task; but, finding either their arms too weak or swords too blunt to strike through their enemies, they employed the aid of and conjoined themselves to this Teutonic order. Hereupon, in the year of our Lord 1239, Hermannus de Saltza, fourth master of these Dutch knights, came with most of his order into Prussia; yet so that he left a competent number of them still in Palestine, which continued and did good service there even to the taking of Ptolemais.

But the greater number of the Dutch knights, in Prussia, did knight-service against the Tartarians, and were Christendom's best bank against the inundations of those barbarous people. By their endeavours the Prussians, who before were but heathen Christians, were wholly converted; many a brave city builded, specially Marienburg, where formerly a great oak stood (who would think so many beautiful buildings would spring out of the root of one tree?) and those countries of Prussia and Livonia, which formerly were the coarse list, are now become the rich fringe of Europe.

At last the Prussians grew weary of the tyrannous oppression of those Dutch knights (as appeareth by the grievances they presented), and applied themselves to Casimire king of Poland. He took to task Louis Erlinfuse the master of their order; and so ordered him, that whereas before he pleaded himself to be a free prince of the empire, hereafter he should acknowledge the king of Poland for his

lord and master. The successors to this Louis fretted against this agreement, as prejudicial to them; they could do no less than complain, and could do little more; for the king of Poland, in spite of their resistance, held them to their agreements.

Albert of the house of Brandenburg was the last grand master of this order, and first duke of Prussia. He brake the vow of their order, losing his virginity to keep his chastity, and married Dôrothy daughter to the king of Denmark. The other Teutonics protested against him, and chose Gualther Croneberg in his room: yea, Albert was proscribed in a diet in Germany, and his goods confiscated, but the proscription never executed, the emperor of Germany being the same time employed in matters of greater moment which more nearly concerned himself. And thus in this Albert, for aught we can find to the contrary, the Teutonic order had its end, and was quite dissolved.

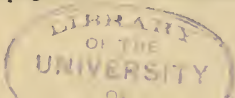
CHAP. V.—*The several Flittings of the Knights-hospitallers, from Cyprus, by Rhodes, Nice, Syracuse, to Malta.*

WE must now wait on the Hospitallers to their lodgings, and we have done. We left them driven from Ptolemais, and landed at Cyprus; where King Henry courteously entertained them. But a friend's house is no home; hence therefore they were conveyed to their several alberges in Europe.

But such active spirits could not long be idle; such running streams would not end in a standing pond. Wherefore they used all their own strength, and improved their interest with all their benefactors, to furnish out a fleet; which done, under Fulk de Vilderet their grand master they won the island of Rhodes from the Turks eighteen years after Ptolemais was lost, and there seated themselves.

Besides Rhodes, they also enjoyed these five adjacent islands, saith my author, Nicoria, Episcopia, Iolli, Limonia, and Sirana; places so small, that consulting with maps will not find them out: enough almost to make us think with Tertullian of Delos, that once there were such islands, which at this day are quite vanished away.

Two hundred and fourteen years, to the terror of the Turks, comfort of the Christians, and their own immortal fame, they maintained this island, and secured the seas for the passage of pilgrims to Jerusalem; till at last in the



year 1523, after six months' siege, they surrendered the city, to their own honour, and shame of other Christians who sent them no succour in season.

Yet changing their place they kept their resolution to be honourably employed. Hence they sailed to Nice in Piedmont, a city lying opposite to Africa, from whence the Moors and Saracens much infested Christendom. Wherefore Charles duke of Savoy bestowed that city upon them to defend it; counting the courtesy rather done to him than by him, that they would accept it.

Afterwards, they perceived it was more needful to stop the Turks' invasions than their pillagings: they had lately won Buda, and (as it was thought) would quickly stride over the Adriatic Sea, and have at Italy. Wherefore the Hospitallers left Nice, and planted themselves at Syracuse in Sicily; where they right valiantly behaved themselves in defending that country.

But Charles V., a politic prince, though he saw their help was useful, yet desired not much to have them live in his own country. He liked their neighbourhood better than their presence, to have them rather near than in his kingdom. Wherefore he appointed them the island of Malta to keep for themselves, their grand master only paying yearly to the king of Spain a falcon in acknowledgment they held it from him¹. Loath were the Hospitallers to leave Sicily, that paradise of pleasure, and went very unwillingly from it.

Malta is an island in the Midland Sea, seated betwixt Europe and Africa, as if it meant to escape out of both as being in neither. Here St. Paul suffered shipwreck, where the viper stung him not, but the men did, condemning him for a murderer². And here the Hospitallers seated themselves, and are the bulwark of Christendom to this day, giving daily evident proof of their courage. But their masterpiece was in the year 1565, when they courageously defended the city of Malta besieged by Solyman; when he discharged seventy-eight thousand bullets (some of them seven spans in compass) against it, big enough not only to overthrow walls but overturn mountains; yet notwithstanding they held out valiantly five months, and at last forced the Turk to depart.

These knights of Malta are at this day a good bridle to

¹ Hospin. De Orig. Mon. cap. 17, p. 190.

² Acts xxviii. 4.

Tunis and Algiers. I am informed by a good friend³ (who hath spent much yet lost no time in those parts) that these knights are bound by vow not to fly from the Turks, though one man or one galley to four (half which odds Hercules himself durst not venture on); but if there be five to one, it is interpreted wisdom, not cowardliness, to make away from them: also if a Christian ship wherein there is a knight of Malta take a Turkish ship, that knight is bound by his order first to go aboard to enter it. The grand master of this order hath a great command, and is highly esteemed of; insomuch that the author of the Catalogue of the Glory of the World⁴ believeth he is to take place next to absolute kings, above all other temporal princes, even above kings subject to the empire. Sure he meaneth, if they will give it him; otherwise it seemeth improper that the almsman should take place of his benefactors. Yet the lord prior of the Hospitallers in England was chief baron of the realm, and had precedency of all other lords: and here his order flourished with great pomp till their final period; which I now come to relate.

CHAP. VI.—*The Hospitallers in England stoutly withstand three several Assaults, which overthrew all other religious Foundations.*

THE suppression of the Hospitallers in England deserves especial notice, because the manner thereof was different from the dissolving of other religious houses; for manfully they stood it out to the last, in despite of several assaults.

1. Cardinal Wolsey, by leave from the pope, suppressed certain small houses of little value, therewithal to endow his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich. He first showed religious places were mortal, which hitherto had flourished in a seeming eternity. This leading case of Wolsey's did pick the mortar out of all the abbey-walls in England, and made a breach in their strongest gate-houses, teaching covetousness (an apt scholar) a ready way to assault them (for it is the dedication, not the value of the thing dedicated, stampeth a character of sacredness upon it). And King Henry VIII. concluded, if the cardinal might eat up the lean convents he himself might feed on the fat ones, without danger of a sacrilegious surfeit. True it is, Wolsey not

³ Mr. Gr. Gibs, of St. Perrot, Dorset.

⁴ Cassanæus, part 9, considerat. 4.

wholly but in part alienated the lands of these petty houses reserving them still to the general end of pious uses: but the king followed this pattern so far as it was for his purpose and neglected the rest.

2. For not long-after, the parliament granted him all religious houses of and under the value of two hundred pounds yearly¹: and it was thought, that above ten thousand persons, masters and servants, lost their livelihoods by the demolishing of them. And for an introduction to the suppression of all the residue, he had a strait watch set upon them, and the regulars therein tied to a strict and punctual observation of their orders without any relaxation of the least liberty; insomuch that many did quickly unne and disfranchise themselves, whose sides, formerly used to go loose, were soon galled with strait lacing.

3. Then followed the grand dissolution or judgment-day on the world of abbeyes remaining; which, of what value soever, were seized into the king's hands. The Lord Cromwell, one of excellent parts but mean parentage, came from the forge to be the hammer to maul all abbeyes. Whose magnificent ruins may lesson the beholders, that it is not the firmness of the stone nor fastness of the mortar maketh strong walls, but the integrity of the inhabitants. For indeed foul matters were proved against some of them, as sodomy and much uncleanness: whereupon, unwillingly or willing, they resigned their goods and persons to the king's mercy. But the Knights-hospitallers (whose chief mansion was at St. John's, nigh London), being gentlemen and soldiers of ancient families and high spirits, would not be brought to present the king such puling petitions and public recognitions of their errors as other orders had done. They complained it was a false consequence, as far from charity as logic, from the induction of some particular delinquents to infer the guiltiness of all religious persons. Wherefore like stout fellows they opposed any that thought to enrich themselves with their ample revenues, and stood on their own defence and justification.

CHAP. VII.—*The Hospitallers at last got on an Advantage and suppressed.*

BUT Barnabas' day itself hath a night; and this long-lived order, which in England went over the graves of all others, came at last to its own.

They were suffered to have rope enough, till they had

¹ Statut. in 27 Henry VIII.

haltered themselves in a *præmunire*: for they still continued their obedience to the pope, contrary to their allegiance, whose usurped authority was banished out of the land¹; and so (though their lives otherwise could not be impeached for any viciousness) they were brought within the compass of the law. The case thus standing, their dear friends persuaded them to submit to the king's mercy, and not to capitulate with him on conditions, nor to stop his favour by their own obstinacy, but yield whilst as yet terms honest and honourable would be freely given them: that such was the irresistibleness of the king's spirit, that like a torrent it would bear down any thing which stood betwixt him and his desires; if his anger were once inflamed, nothing but their blood could quench it: let them not flatter themselves into their own ruin, by relying on the aid of their friends at home, who would not substitute their own necks to save theirs from the axe; nor by hoping for help from foreign parts, who could send them no seasonable succour.

This counsel, harsh at first, grew tunable in the ears of the Hospitallers; so that, contented rather to exchange their clothes for worse than to be quite stripped, they resigned all into the king's hands. He allowed to Sir William Weston, lord prior of the order, an annual pension of one thousand pounds: but he received never a penny thereof, but died instantly² [May 7, 1540], struck to the heart when he first heard of the dissolution of his priory: and lieth buried in the chancel of Clerkenwell, with the portraiture of a dead man lying on his shroud, the most artificially cut in stone (saith my author³) that ever man beheld. Others had rent assigned them of two hundred, one hundred, eighty, sixty, fifty, twenty, ten pounds, according to their several qualities and deserts.

At the same time justs and tournaments were held at Westminster; wherein the challengers against all comers were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poinings, Sir George Carew, knights; Antony Kingstone, and Richard Cromwell, esquires; to each of whom, for reward of their valour, the king gave a hundred marks of yearly revenues, and a house to dwell in, to them and their heirs, out of the lands belonging to these Hospitallers. And at this time many had Danaë's happiness, to have golden showers rained into their bosoms.

These abbey-lands, though skittish mares to some, have

¹ Parlam. anno 32 Hen. VIII. ² Weaver, Mon. p. 114.

³ Idem, p. 430

given good milk to others : which is produced as an argument, that if they prove unsuccessful to any, it is the user's default, no inherency of a curse in the things themselves. But let one keep an exact register of lands, and mark their motions, how they ebb and flow betwixt buyers and sellers, and surely he will say with the poet, Ὀυδενὸς ἀλλὰ τύχης. And this is most sure ; let land be held in ever so good a tenure, it will never be held by an unthrift.

The Hospitallers' priory church was preserved from downpulling all the days of King Henry VIII. : but in the third year of King Edward VI., with the bell-tower (a piece of curious workmanship, graven, gilt, and enamelled) it was undermined and blown up with gunpowder, and the stone employed in building the lord protector's house in the Strand⁴.

Thus as surgeons, in cutting off a gangrened leg, always cut it off above the joint, even where the flesh is whole and sound ; so (belike for fear of further infection) to banish monkery for ever, they razed the structures and harmless buildings of priories, which otherwise in themselves were void of any offence. They feared if abbeys were only left in a swoon, the pope would soon get hot water to recover them : to prevent which, they killed them and killed them again, overturning the very foundation of the houses, infringing, altering, and transferring the lands, that they might never be reduced to their old property. Some outrages were committed in the manner of these dissolutions : many manuscripts, guilty of no other superstition than red letters in the front, were condemned to the fire : and here a principal key of antiquity was lost, to the great prejudice of posterity. But in sudden alterations it is not to be expected that all things be done by the square and compass.

CHAP. VIII.—*Queen Mary setteth up the Hospitallers again ; they are again deposed by Queen Elizabeth.*

QUEEN Mary (a princess more zealous than politic) attempted to restore abbeys to their pristine estate and former glory ; and though certain of her counsellors objected, that the state of her kingdom, and dignity thereof, and her crown imperial, could not honourably be furnished and maintained without the possession of abbey-land ; yet she frankly restored, resigned, and confirmed by parliament

⁴ Stow.

all ecclesiastical revenues which, by the authority of that high court in the days of her father, were annexed to the crown, protesting, she set more by her salvation than by ten kingdoms¹.

But the nobility followed not her example: they had eaten up the abbey-lands, and now after twenty years' possession digested and turned them into good blood in their estates: they were loath therefore to empty their veins again; and the forwardest Romanist was backward enough in this costly piece of devotion.

However, out of her own liberality, she set up two or three bankrupt convents, as Sion and Westminster, and gave them stock to trade with. The knights also of St. John of Jerusalem she resealed in their place; and Sir Thomas Tresham, of Rushton in Northamptonshire, was the first and last lord prior after their restitution: for their nests were plucked down before they were warm in them, by the coming in of Queen Elizabeth.

To conclude: in the founders of religious houses were some good intents mixed with superstitious ends; amongst the religious persons themselves, some piety, more looseness and laziness; in the confounders of those houses, some detestation of the vices of friars, more desire of the wealth of friaries; in God, all just, all righteous, in permitting the badness and causing the destruction of these numerous fraternities.

CHAP. IX.—*Observations on the Holy War. The horrible Superstition therein.*

WE have finished the story of the holy war: and now I conceive my indentures are cancelled, and I discharged from the strict service and ties of an historian; so that it may be lawful for me to take more liberty, and to make some observations on what hath been passed.

Before I go further, I must deplore the world's loss of that worthy work which the Lord Verulam left unfinished, concerning the holy war; an excellent piece, and, alas! it is but a piece: so that in a pardonable discontent we may almost wish that either it had been more, wholly to have satisfied our hunger, or less, not at all to have raised our appetite. It was begun not in an historical but in a politic way, not reporting the holy war passed with the Turks, but advising how to manage it in the future. And no doubt if

¹ Parlam. anno 2 et 3 Phil. et Mariæ.

he had perfected the work, it would have proved worthy the author; but since, any have been deterred from finishing the same; as ashamed to add mud walls and a thatched roof to so fair a foundation of hewn and polished stone.

From that author we may borrow this distinction, that three things are necessary to make an invasive war lawful: the lawfulness of the jurisdiction, the merit of the cause, and the orderly and lawful prosecution of the cause. Let us apply to our present purpose in this holy war: for the first two, whether the jurisdiction the Christians pretended over the Turks' dominions was lawful or not; and, whether this war was not only *operæ* but *vita pretium*, worth the losing so many lives; we refer the reader to what hath been said in the first book¹. Only it will not be amiss, to add a story or two out of an author of good account². When Charles VI. was king of France, the duke of Brabant sailed over into Africa with a great army, there to fight against the Saracens. The Saracen prince sent a herald to know of him the cause of his coming: the duke answered, it was to revenge the death of Christ the son of God, and true prophet, whom they had unjustly crucified. The Saracens sent back their messenger again to demonstrate their innocency, how they were not Saracens but Jews who put Christ to death, and therefore that the Christians (if posterity should be punished for their predecessors' fault), should rather revenge themselves on the Jews who lived amongst them.

Another relateth³, that in the year of our Lord 1453, the great Turk sent a letter to the pope, advertising him how he and his Turkish nation were not descended from the Jews, but from the Trojans, from whom also the Italians derive their pedigree, and so would prove himself akin to his holiness. Moreover he added, that it was both his and their duty to repair the ruins of Troy, and to revenge the death of their great grandfather Hector upon the Grecians; to which end the Turk said he had already conquered a great part of Greece. As for Christ, he acknowledged him to have been a noble prophet, and to have been crucified of the Jews, against whom the Christians might seek their remedy. These two stories I thought good to insert, because though of later date, and since the holy war in

¹ Chap. 9 and 10.

² Froissard, lib. 4, cap. 18, 19.

³ Monstrell. lib. 3, cap. 68.

Palestine was ended, yet they have some reference thereunto, because some make that our quarrel to the Turks.

But grant the Christians' right to the Turks' lands to be lawful, and the cause in itself enough deserving to ground a war upon; yet, in the prosecuting and managing thereof, many not only venial errors but inexcusable faults were committed, no doubt the cause of the ill success.

To omit the book called the Office of our Lady, made at the beginning of this war, to procure her favourable assistance in it (a little manual, but full of blasphemies in folio, thrusting her with importunate superstitions into God's throne, and forcing on her the glory of her Maker), superstition not only tainted the rind, but rotted the core of this whole action. Indeed most of the pottage of that age tasted of that wild gourd. Yet far be it from us to condemn all their works to be dross, because debased and allayed with superstitious intents: no doubt there was a mixture of much good metal in them, which God the good refiner knoweth how to sever, and then will crown and reward. But here we must distinguish betwixt those deeds which have some superstition in them, and those which in their nature are wholly superstitious, such as this voyage of people to Palestine was. For what opinion had they of themselves herein, who thought that by dying in this war they did make Christ amends for his death? as one saith: which if but a rhetorical flourish, yet doth hyperbolize into blasphemy. Yea, it was their very judgment, that hereby they did both merit and supererogate; and by dying for the cross, cross the score of their own sins and score up God for their debtor. But this flieth high, and therefore we leave it for others to follow. Let us look upon pilgrimages in general, and we shall find pilgrims wandering not so far from their own country as from the judgment of the ancient fathers.

We will leave our army at home, and only bring forth our champion: hear what Gregory Nyssen saith⁴, who lived in the fourth century, in which time voluntary pilgrimages first began; though before there were necessary pilgrims, forced to wander from their country by persecution. Where, saith he, our Lord pronounceth men blessed, he reckoneth not going to Jerusalem to be amongst those good deeds which direct to happiness. And afterwards, speaking

⁴ Epist. seu Orat. de iis qui adeunt Hierosol. Edit. Gr. Lat. Parisiis, 1615.

of the going of single women in those long travels: A woman, saith he, cannot go such long journeys without a man to conduct her; and then whatsoever we may suppose, whether she hireth a stranger or hath a friend to wait on her, on neither side can she escape reproof, and keep the law of continency. Moreover, if there were more divine grace in the places of Jerusalem, sin would not be so frequent and customary amongst those that live there: now there is no kind of uncleanness which there they dare not commit; malice, adultery, thefts, idolatry, poisonings, envies, and slaughters. But you will say unto me, If it be not worth the pains, why then did you go to Jerusalem? Let them hear therefore how I defend myself: I was appointed to go into Arabia to a holy council, held for the reforming of that church; and, Arabia being near to Jerusalem, I promised those that went with me, that I would go to Jerusalem to discourse with them who were presidents of the churches there; where matters were in a very troubled state, and they wanted one to be a mediator in their discords. We knew that Christ was a man born of a virgin, before we saw Bethlehem; we believed his resurrection from death, before we saw his sepulchre; we confessed his ascension into heaven, before we saw Mount Olivet; but we got so much profit by our journey, that by comparing them we found our own more holy than those outward things⁵. Wherefore you that fear God, praise him in what place you are. Change of place maketh not God nearer unto us: wheresoever thou art, God will come to thee, if the inn of thy soul be found such as the Lord may dwell and walk in thee, &c.

A patron of pilgrimages, not able to void the blow yet willing to break the stroke of so pregnant and plain a testimony, thus seeketh to ward it; that indeed pilgrimages are unfitting for women, yet fitting for men. But sure God never appointed such means to heighten devotion necessary thereunto, whereof the half of mankind (all women) are by their very creation made incapable.

Secondly, he pleadeth, that it is lawful for secular and laymen to go on pilgrimages, but not for friars, who lived recluse in their cells, out of which they were not to come; and against such (saith he) is Nyssen's speech directed. But then, I pray, what was Peter, the leader of this long dance, but a hermit? and (if I mistake not) his profession

⁵ Τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν ἕξω πολὺ ἁγιώτερα.

was the very dungeon of the monastical prison, the strictest and severest of all other orders. And though there were not so many cowls as helmets in this war, yet always was the holy army well stocked with such cattle; so that on all sides it is confessed that the pilgrimages of such persons were utterly unlawful.

CHAP. X.—*Of Superstition in Miracles in the Holy War, ranked into four Sorts.*

BESIDES superstition inherent in this holy war, there was also superstition appendant or annexed thereunto, in that it was the fruitful mother of many feigned miracles. Hitherto we have refrained to scatter over our story with them; it will not be amiss now to shovel up some of them in a heap.

One Peter (not the Hermit), found out the lance where-with Christ was pierced¹; and to approve the truth thereof against some one who questioned him herein, on Palm Sunday, taking the lance in his hand, he walked through a mighty fire without any harm; but it seemeth he was not his craft's master, for he died soon after.

An image of our Lady brought from Jerusalem, but set up near Damascus, began by degrees to be clothed with flesh², and to put forth breasts of flesh, out of which a liquor did constantly flow; which liquor the Templars carried home to their houses, and distributed it to the pilgrims which came to them, that they might report the honour thereof through the whole world.

A sultan of Damascus who had but one eye, chanced to lose the other, and so became stark blind; when coming devoutly to this image, though he was a pagan, having faith in God, and confidence therein, he perfectly was restored to his sight³.

Infinite are the shoals of miracles done by Christ's cross in Jerusalem; insomuch that my author⁴ blamed the bishop of Acon, who carried the cross in that battle wherein it was lost to the Turks, for wearing a corslet; and therefore (saith he) he was justly slain, because his weak faith relied on means, not on the miraculous protection thereof.

When Conrad landgrave of Thuringia was enrolled in the Teutonic order to go to the holy war, and received his benediction (as the fashion was), the Holy Ghost visibly

¹ M. Par's, in anno 1099.

² Idem.

³ Idem.

⁴ Roger Hoveden, in anno 1187.

descended upon him in the shape of fire⁵. The said Conrad received of God as a boon for his valour in this service, the rare faculty, that by looking on any man he could tell whether or no he had committed a mortal sin, yea, at first sight descry their secret sins⁶.

But the last miracle of our Lady in Palestine is the lady of all miracles, which was this: In the year 1291, when the Holy Land was finally subdued by the Turks, the chamber at Nazareth, wherein the angel Gabriel saluted her with joyful tidings, was wonderfully transported into Sclavonia⁷. That country being unworthy of her divine presence, it was by the angels carried over into Italy, anno 1294. That place also being infested with thieves and pirates, the angels removed it to the little village of Loretto; where this pilgrim chapel resteth itself at this day, and liketh her entertainment so well, it will travel no further.

But enough; for fools' meat is unsavoury to the taste of the wise. I have transgressed already: two instances had been sufficient (as Noah preserved but two of all unclean creatures), the rest might be lost without loss, and safely be drowned in oblivion. However, we may observe these millions of miracles are reducible to one of these four ranks:—

1. Falsely reported, never so much as seemingly done. Asia, the theatre whereon they were acted, is at a great distance, and the miracles as far from truth, as the place from us. And who knoweth not, when a lie is once set on foot, besides the first founders, it meeteth with many benefactors, who contribute their charity thereunto?

2. Falsely done, insomuch as at this day they are sented amongst the Romanists⁸. Who would not laugh to see the picture of a saint weep? Where one devout catholic lifteth up his eyes, ten of their wiser sort wag their head.

3. Truly done, but by the strength of nature. Suppose one desperately sick, a piece of the cross is applied to him, he recovereth; is this a miracle? Nothing less; how many thousands have made an escape after death in a manner hath arrested them? As therefore it is sacrilege to father God's immediate works on natural causes; so it is superstition, to entitle natural events to be miraculous.

⁵ Naclerus, Gen. 42.

⁶ Chron. Pruten.

⁷ Spondanus, in anno 1291.

⁸ Miracula, si piâ utilitate aut necessitate careant, de facto suspecta sunt et rejicienda.—Gerson.

4. Many miracles were ascribed to saints which were done by Satan. I know it will nonplus his power to work a true miracle, but I take the word at large; and indeed vulgar (not to say human) eyes are too dim to discern betwixt things wonderful and truly miraculous. Now Satan, the master juggler, needeth no wires or gins to work with, being all gins himself; so transcendent is the activity of a spirit. Nay, may not God give the devil leave to go beyond himself? it being just with him, that those who will not have truth their king, and willingly obey it, should have falsehood their tyrant, to whom their judgment should be captivated and enslaved.

CHAP. XI.—*The second grand Error in prosecuting the Holy War, being the Christians notorious breaking their Faith with Infidels.*

NEXT unto superstition, which was deeply inlaid in the holy war, we may make the Christians' truce-breaking with the infidels the second cause of their ill success. Yet never but once did they break promise with the Turks; which was (as I may say) a constant and continued faith-breaking, never keeping their word. To omit several straining of the sinews and unjointing the bones of many a solemn peace, we will only instance where the neck thereof was clearly broken asunder.

1. When Godfrey first won Jerusalem, pardon was proclaimed to all the Turks who yielded themselves; yet three days after, in cold blood, they were all, without difference of age or sex, put to the sword.

2. Almerick I. swore, effectually to assist the Saracens in driving the Turks out of Egypt; and soon after invaded Egypt, and warred upon the Turks against his promise. I know something he pretended herein to defend himself, but of no validity; and such plausible and curious witty evasions to avoid perjury, are but the tying of a most artificial knot in the halter, therewith to strangle one's own conscience.

3. There was a peace concluded for some time betwixt King Guy and Saladin; which *non obstante*, Reinold of Castile robbed Saladin's own mother; whereupon followed the miserable overthrow of the Christians, and taking of Jerusalem.

4. Our Richard, at his departure from Palestine, made a firm peace for five years with Saladin, and it stood yet

in force when Henry duke of Saxony, coming with a great army of new adventurers, invaded the Turkish dominions.

5. Frederick II., emperor, made a truce of ten years with the sultan of Babylon; and yet, in despite thereof, Theobald king of Navarre foraged the country of Gaza, to the just overthrow of him and his army.

6. Reinold viceroy of Palestine, in the name of Frederick the emperor, and after him our Richard earl of Cornwall, drew up a firm peace with the said sultan, which was instantly disturbed and interrupted by the turbulent Templars.

7. Lastly, the Venetians, in the name of all Christian princes, concluded a five years' peace with Alpher the mamaluke prince of Egypt; yet some voluntaries in Ptolemais pillaged and robbed many Saracen merchants about the city. But pardon them this last fault, we will promise they shall never do so any more in Palestine, hereupon losing all they had left there.

And how could safety itself save this people, and bless this project so blackly blasted with perjury? As it is observed of tyrants, where one goeth, ten are sent to the grave; so where one truce concluded with the Turks did naturally expire and determine, many were violently broken off. A sin so repugnant to all moral honesty, so injurious to the quiet and peace of the world, so odious in itself, so scandalous to all men, to dissolve a league when confirmed by oath (the strongest bond of conscience, the end of particular strife, the soldier of public peace, the sole assurance of amity betwixt divers nations, made here below, but enrolled in his high court whose glorious name doth sign it); a sin, I say, so heinous that God cannot but must severely punish it. David asketh, "Who shall rest upon thy holy hill?" and answereth himself, "He that sweareth to his neighbour and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hinderance¹." No wonder then, though the Christians had no longer abidance in the holy hill of Palestine (though this, I confess, is but the bark of the text), driving that trade wherewith none ever thrived, the breaking of promises; wherewith one may for a while fairly spread his train, but he will moult his feathers soon after.

¹ Psalm xv.

CHAP. XII.—*Of the Hinderances of the good Success in the Holy War; whereof the Popes, and Emperors of Greece, were the two principal.*

SO much concerning those *læsa principia* in this holy war, superstition and perjury, which struck at the root of it. Come we now to consider many other hinderances, which abated the good success thereof. Amongst these we will not be so heretical as to deny the pope's primacy; but account him the first cause of their ill success. Such wounds as we find in his credit, we will neither widen nor close up; but even present them to the reader as we found them. In four respects he baned the Christians' good speed in this war.

1. He caused most of their truce-breaking with the Turks, urging men thereunto. Thus Pope Celestine drove on the Christians against the Turks, whilst as yet the peace our Richard concluded with them was not expired; and so many other times also. For, alas! this was nothing with his holiness, who, sitting in the temple of God, so far advanceth himself above God as to dispense with oaths made sacred by the most holy and high name of God; and, professing himself the sole umpire and peacemaker of the world, doth cut asunder those only sinews which hold peace together.

2. In that twice the kingdom of Jerusalem was offered to the Christians, and the pope's legates would not suffer them to accept it (no doubt, by instructions from their master, this being to be presumed on, that those his absolute creatures altered not a tittle, but went according to the copy that was set them); once, anno 1219, when Pelagius the legate refused the free offer of Melechsala; and the second time, some thirty years after, when the same bountiful proffer was refused by Odo the pope's legate: for when the same Melechsala again offered the free resignation of the whole kingdom of Jerusalem, whereby the same day great quietness had entered into all Christendom, with the end of much bloodshed and misery; the legate, *frontosè contradicens*, would in no wise receive the conditions offered¹.

3. Frederick II., emperor, was possessed of it; when the pope molested him, and stirred up the Templars against

¹ M. Paris, p. 1047.—Huic pacis formæ ex papæ mandato rebellis erat legatus, et frontosè contradicens, &c.

him, as so many needles to prick him when he was to sit down on the throne.

4. By diverting the pilgrims, and over-titling his own quarrels to be God's cause; nothing being more common with him, than to employ those armies which were levied for the holy war, in subduing the Albigenses and many others of his private enemies.

By all these it plainly appeareth, that what fair shows soever his holiness made, calling councils, appointing legates, providing preachers, proclaiming pardons, to advance this war; yet, in very deed, he neither intended nor desired that the Christians should make a final conquest of Palestine, but be employed in continual conquering it. He would have this war go on *cum decente pausa*, fair and softly: let the Christians now beat the Turks, and then the Turks beat the Christians; and so let them take their turns, whilst his private profit went on. For (as we touched before) to this war the pope condemned all dangerous persons (especially the emperors of Germany) to be there employed. As little children are often sent to school, not so much to learn, as to keep them out of harm's way at home; so this careful father sent many of his children to the holy war, not for any good he knew they would either do or get there, but it would keep them from worse doing; who otherwise would have been paddling in this puddle, raking in that channel, stirring up questions and controversies unsavoury in the nostrils of his holiness, and perchance falling into the fire of discord and dissension against their own father. Indeed at last this war ended itself in despite of the pope, who no doubt would have driven this web (weaving and unweaving it, Penelope-like) much longer if he could; yet he digested more patiently the ending thereof, because the net might be taken away when the fish was already caught, and the war spared now the German emperor's strength thereby was sufficiently abated in Italy.

Much also this war increased the *intrado* of the pope's revenues. Some say, purgatory fire heateth his kitchen; they may add, the holy war filled his pot, if not paid for all his second course. It is land enough, to have the office of collecting the contributions of all Christendom given to this war. So much for his great receipts hereby. And as for what he expended, not too far in the point. If the pope (saith their law²) thrusteth thousands of souls into hell,

² Dist. 40. can.—Si papa suæ et fraternæ salutis negligens.

none may say to him, Why doest thou so? It is presumption then to make him answer for money, who is not accountable for men.

With the pope let the emperors of Greece their jealousy go, as the second bane of the Christians' success in this war. These emperors tormented themselves in seeking that they would have been loath to find, the treachery of the Latins; and therefore, to begin first, used them with all treachery: whereof largely formerly³. And surely, though a cautious circumspection be commendable in princes, yet, in such over-fear, they were no less injurious to themselves than to the western pilgrims. Yea, generally, suspiciousness is as great an enemy to wisdom, as too much credulity; it doing oftentimes as hurtful wrong to friends, as the other doth receive wrongful hurt from dissemblers.

CHAP. XIII.—*The third Hinderance, the Equality of the Undertakers; the fourth, the Length of the Journey.*

THE next cause of their ill success was the discord arising from the parity of the princes who undertook this voyage. Many of them could abide no equal; all, no superior: so that they had no chief, or rather were all chiefs; the swarm wanted a master-bee, a supreme commander, who should awe them all into obedience. The German emperor (though above all) came but seldom, and was not constant amongst them: the king of Jerusalem (especially in the declining of the state) was rather slighted than feared: the pope's legate usurped a superiority, but was never willingly nor generally obeyed. Surely smaller forces being united under one command would have been more effectual in proof (though not so promising in opinion and fame), than these great armies variously compounded by associations and leagues, and of the confluence of princes otherwise unconcurring in their several courses.

Livy writing of that great battle (the critical day of the world's empire) betwixt Hannibal and Scipio, It is small, saith he¹, to speak of, yet of much moment in the matter itself, that when the armies joined, the shouting of the Romans was far more great and terrible, as being all of one voice from the same nation; whilst Hannibal's soldiers' voices were different and disagreeing, as consisting of several languages. If such a toy be considerable, and dif-

³ See Book 2, chap. 9, 27.

¹ Lib. 30.

fering in tongues lesseneth the terribleness in an army; how doth dissenting in hearts and affections abate the force thereof; and what advantage had the united Turks against divided Christian princes who managed this war? Had the emulation betwixt those equal princes only been such as is the spur of virtue, far from enmity and hateful contention, striving with good deserts to outstrip those who by the same means sought to attain to the like end; had it been mixed with love in regard of the affinity of their affections and sympathy of their desires, not seeking the ruin of their competitor, but succouring him in danger; then such *simultates* had been both honourable and useful to the advancing of the holy cause: but, on the other side, their affections were so violent, and dispositions so crooked, that emulation in them boiled to hatred, that to malice, which rested better satisfied with the miserable end of their opposite partner, than with any trophies deservedly erected to their own honour. And herein the wars betwixt the Venetians and Genoans in Syria are too pregnant an instance.

The length of the journey succeedeth as the fourth impediment. There needed no other hinderance to this voyage than the voyage; the way was so long. In sensation, the object must not be over-distant from the sense; otherwise Lynceus' eyes may see nothing: so it is requisite in warlike adventures, that the work be not too far from the undertakers. Indeed the Romans conquered countries far from home: but the lands betwixt them were their own, wherein they refreshed themselves; and well may one lift a great weight at arm's end if he hath a rest to stay his elbow on. So though Spain hath subdued much in the Indies, yet there they met with none or naked resistance. It fared not thus with the Christians in this war: by the tediousness of the journey their strength was exhausted; they ran dregs when first they were broached in Syria, and as it were scattered their powder in presenting, before they came to discharge.

Frederick Barbarossa wrote a braving letter to Saladin, reckoning up the several nations in Europe under his command, and boasting what an army of them he would bring into Syria. Saladin answered him, that he also ruled over as many peoples, and told him, that there was no sea which hindered his men from coming quickly together; whereas, saith he, you have a great sea, over which with pains and danger you must pass before you can bring your men

hither². Besides, if the Christians shaped their journey by land, then their miseries in Hungary, Greece, and Asia the Less, made their land-journey more tedious and troublesome than if they had gone by sea.

CHAP. XIV.—*The fifth Impediment, Clergymen being Captains.*

THAT prelates and clergymen were often generals in this action (as Peter the Hermit, Pelagius the Cardinal, and many others) was another cause of their ill success; for allow them able in their own way, for matter of learning, yet were they insufficient to manage martial affairs. Many who in England have learned the French tongue, and afterwards have gone over into France, have found themselves both deaf and dumb in effect, neither hearing to understand, nor speaking to be understood: they, in like manner, who frame to themselves in their studies a model of leading an army, find it as full of errors as rules, when it cometh to be applied; and a measure of war taken by book falleth out either too long or too short, when brought into the field to be used.

I have heard a story of a great mapmonger, who undertook to travel over England by help of his maps, without asking the least direction of any he met. Long he had not ridden but he met with a *non plus ultra*, a deep unpassable gullet of water, without bridge, ford, or ferry. This water was as unknown to his Camden's or Speed's maps, as to himself; because it was neither body nor branch of any constant river or brook (such as only are visible in maps), but an extempore water, flowing from the snow which melted on hills. Worse unexpected accidents surprise those who conceive themselves to have conned all martial maxims out of authors, and warrant their skill in war against all events, out of their great reading; when on the sudden some unwonted occurrent taketh them unprovided, standing amazed till destruction seizeth on them.

Indeed, sometimes such unlooked for chances arrest even the best and most experienced generals, who have long been acquainted with war; nor are they privileged by all their experience from such casualties, nor are they so omniscient but that their skill may be posed therewith, a minute showing sometimes what an age hath not seen before: but then such aged commanders have this advan-

² M. Paris, p. 197.

tage, that finding themselves at a fault, they can soonest know where to beat about and recover it.

(Add to the inability the incongruity of prelates going to fight. True, in defensive wars necessity is their sufficient dispensation; but otherwise it is improper. In the battle against Amalek, Joshua fought; Moses prayed; the Levites bare the ark, no office of command in the camp. And better it had been that Cardinal Columna had been at his beads, or in his bed, or any where else, than in the camp in Egypt; where by his indiscreet counsel he brought all the lives of the Christians into danger.)

CHAP. XV.—*The sixth Hinderance, the Diversity of the Climate disagreeing with the Bodies of Europe; and what weakeneth northern Men going southward.*

NOW followeth the diversity of the climate, which caused the death of many thousands of the Christians, sweeping them away with horrible plagues and other diseases. For even as men, when they come into a new corporation, must pay their fees before they can be freemen thereof and set up trading therein; so it always cost the Christians of Europe a dangerous sickness at least, before they could be well acquainted with the air and climate of Palestine.

Amongst other diseases, the leprosy was one epidemical infection which tainted the pilgrims coming thither. This (though most rife in our Saviour's time, God so ordering it that Judea was sickest while her physician was nearest) at this time of the holy war was very dangerous. Hence was it brought over into England (never before known in this island), and many lazar-houses erected for the relief of those infected therewith; their chief houses were at Burton-lazars in Leicestershire. I say not, as this disease began with the holy war in England, so it ended with it: sure such hath been God's goodness, that few at this day are afflicted therewith; and the leprosy of leprosy, I mean the contagion thereof, in this cold country is much abated.

Many other sicknesses seized on the pilgrims there, especially in summer. The Turks, like salamanders, could live in that fiery country, whose scorching our northern bodies could not endure. Yea, long before I find it observed by Vitruvius, that they who come cold into hot countries cannot long subsist, but are dissolved; whilst those that change out of hot into cold find not only no distemper and sickness by the alteration, but also grow more healthful,

solid, and compacted; but this perchance is easilier said than maintained.

But let us not hereupon be disheartened to set on our southern foes for fear to be impaired, nor they invited to invade us by hope to be improved. Know, it is not so much the climate, as bad and unwholesome diet enraging the climate against us, which unsineweth those northern nations when they come into the south; which bad diet, though sometimes necessary for want of better food, yet is most times voluntary through men's wilful intemperance. In the Portugal action, anno 1589, more English owed their calenture to the heat of wine than weather. Why do our English merchants' bodies fadge well enough in southern air? why cannot our valour thrive as well there as our profit; but chiefly for this, that merchants are careful of themselves, whilst soldiers count it baseness to be thrifty of their own healths?

Besides, the sins of the south emasculate northern bodies. In hot countries the sirens of pleasure sing the sweetest, which quickly ravish our ears unused to such music. But should we marching southwards observe our health in some proportion of temperance, and by degrees habituate ourselves to the climate; and should we keep our souls from their sins, no doubt the north might pierce the south as far, and therein erect as high and long-lasting trophies, as ever the south did in the north.

Nor must it have admittance without examination into a judicious breast, what some have observed; that northern people never enjoyed any durable settled government in the south. Experience avoweth they are more happy in speedy conquering than in long enjoying of countries.

But the first monarch the world ever knew (I mean the Assyrian) came from the north; whence he is so often styled in Scripture, The King of the North; conquering, and for many years enjoying, those countries which lie betwixt him and the sun; as Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Babylon, Syria, Egypt; to speak nothing of the Turks, who in the dichotomizing of the world fall under the northern part, and coming out of Scythia at first subdued most southern countries.

CHAP. XVI.—*The seventh Impediment, the Viciousness of the Undertakers.*

THUS are we fallen on the next hinderance of success in this holy war, the viciousness of the undertakers. But here first we must make an honourable reservation for many adventures herein, whom we confess most pious and religious persons. Let us not raise the opinion of our own piety by trampling on our predecessors, as if this age had monopolized all goodness to itself. Some, no doubt, most religious and truly valiant (as fearing nothing but sin), engaged themselves in this action; of whom I could only wish, that their zeal herein had either had more light or less heat. But with these, I say not how many, but too many, went most wicked people, the causers of the ill success.

It will be objected, *Sanctitas morum* hath been made of some a note of the true church, never the sign of a fortunate army: look on all armies generally, we shall find them of the soldier's religion, not troubled with over-much preciseness. As our King John said (whether wittily or wickedly let others judge), that the buck he opened was fat, yet never heard mass: so many soldiers have been successful without the least smack of piety; some such desperate villains, that fortune (to erroneous judgments) may seem to have favoured them for fear.

True; but we must not consider these adventurers as plain and mere soldiers, but as pilgrims and God's army; in whom was required, and from whom was expected, more piety and purity of life and manners than in ordinary men: whereas, on the contrary, we shall make it appear, that they were more vicious than the common sort of men. Nor do we this out of cruelty or wantonness, to wound and mangle the memory of the dead; but to anatomize and open their ulcerous insides, that the dead may teach the living, and lesson posterity.

Besides those that went, many were either driven or fled to the Holy Land. Those were driven, who, having committed some horrible sin in Europe, had this penance imposed on them, to travel to Jerusalem to expiate their faults¹.

¹ Totum vulgus, tam casti quàm incesti, adulteri, homicidæ, perjuri, prædones.—Albertus Aquensis, Chron. Hierosol. lib. 1, cap. 2.—Besoldus, p. 101, ex Brochardo.—Malefactor deprehensus, homicida, latro, fur, incestuosus, adulter, fornicator,

Many a whore was sent thither to find her virginity; many a murderer was enjoined to fight in the holy war, to wash off the guilt of Christian blood by shedding blood of Turks. The like was in all other offences; malefactors were sent hither to satisfy for their former wickedness. Now God forbid we should condemn them, if truly penitents, for impious. May he who speaketh against penitents, never have the honour to be one; since Repentance is the younger brother to Innocence itself. But we find that many of them reverted to their former wickedness; they lost none of their old faults, and got many new, mending in this hot country as sour ale in summer. Others fled hither, who having supererogated the gallows in their own countries by their several misdemeanours, theft, rapes, incest, murders, to avoid the stroke of justice, protected themselves under this voyage; and, coming to Palestine, so profited in those eastern schools of vices, that they learned to be more artificially wicked. This plainly appeareth, as in sundry other authors, so chiefly in Tyrius, a witness beyond exception, who often complaineth hereof². And if we value testimonies rather by the weight than number, we must credit so grave a man, who writeth it with grief, and had no doubt as much water in his eyes as ink in his pen, and surely would be thankful to him that herein would prove him a liar.

CHAP. XVII.—*The eighth Hinderance, the Treachery of the Templars. Of Sacrilege alleged by Baronius, the cause of the ill Success.*

ROBERT earl of Artois upbraided the master of the Templars, that it was the common speech, that the Holy Land long since had been won, but for the false collusion of the Templars and Hospitallers with the infidels; which words, though proceeding from passion in him, yet from premeditation in others, not made by him but related, deserve to be observed the rather, because common reports (like smoke, seldom but from some fire, never but from much heat) are generally true. It is not to be denied, but that both these orders were guilty herein, as appeareth by the whole current of the story. Yea, King Almerick fairly

timet à judice condignam pœnam, et transfretat in Terram Sanctam.

² Especially in the end of King Almerick's Life.

trussed up twelve Templars at once, hanging them for delivering up an impregnable fort to Syracon¹. These, like a deceitful chirurgeon, who hath more corruption in himself than the sore he dresseth, prolonged the cure for their private profit; and this holy war being the trade whereby they got their gains, they lengthened it out to the utmost; so that their treachery may pass for the eighth impediment.

Baronius concludeth this one principal cause of the Christians' ill success, that the kings of Jerusalem took away that city from the patriarchs thereof, herein committing sacrilege², a sin so heinous that malice itself cannot wish an enemy guilty of a worse. But whether or no this was sacrilege, we refer the reader to what hath been largely discussed before.

And here I could wish to be an auditor at the learned and impartial arguing of this question, Whether over-great donations to the church may not afterwards be revoked? On the one side it would be pleaded, who should be judge of the over-greatness, seeing too many are so narrow-hearted to the church, they count any thing too large for it; yea, some would cut off the flesh of the church's necessary maintenance, under pretence to cure her of a tympany of superfluities. Besides, it would be alleged, what once hath been bestowed on pious uses must ever remain thereto: to give a thing and take a thing, is a play too childish for children; much less must God be mocked therewith, in resuming what hath been conferred upon him. It would be argued on the other side, that when kings do perceive the church ready to devour the commonwealth by vast and unlimited donations unto it, and clergymen grown to suspicious greatness, armed with hurtful and dangerous privileges derogatory to the royalty of princes; then, then it is high time for princes to pare their overgrown greatness. But this high pitch we leave to stronger wings: sure I am in another kind, this holy war was guilty of sacrilege, and for which it thrived no whit the better; in that the pope exempted six and twenty thousand manors in Europe, belonging to the Templars and Hospitallers, from paying any tithes to the priest of the parish; so that many a minister in England smarteth at this day for the holy war. And if this be not sacrilege, to take away the dowry of the

¹ Tyrius, lib. 19, cap. 11.

² Annal. Ecclesiast. in anno 1100 et 1104.

church without assuring her any jointure in lieu of it, I report myself to any that have not the pearl of prejudice in the eye of their judgment.

CHAP. XVIII.—*Three grand Faults in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, hindering the Strength and Puissance thereof.*

COME we now to survey the kingdom of Jerusalem in itself: we will take it in its vertical point, in the beginning of Baldwin III., when grown to the best strength and beauty; yet even then had it some faults, whereby it was impossible ever long to subsist.

1. It lay far from any true friend. On the west it was bounded with the Midland Sea, but on all other sides it was environed with an ocean of foes, and was a country continually besieged with enemies. One being to sell his house, amongst other commendations thereof, proclaimed, that his house had a very good neighbour; a thing indeed considerable in the purchase, and might advance the sale thereof a year's value: sure I am, the kingdom of Jerusalem had no such conveniency, having bad neighbours round about: Cyprus indeed their friend lay within a day's sail; but, alas! the kings thereof had their hands full to defend themselves, and could scarce spare a finger to help any other.

2. The kingdom was far extended, but not well compacted: all the body thereof ran out in arms and legs. Besides that ground inhabited formerly by the twelve tribes, and properly called the Holy Land, the kingdom of Jerusalem ranged northward over all Cœlosyria, and Cilicia in the Lesser Asia: north-eastward, it roved over the principalities of Antioch and Edessa, even unto Carræ beyond Euphrates: eastward, it possessed far beyond Jordan the strong fort of Cracci, with a great part of Arabia Petrea: southward, it stretched to the entrance of Egypt. But as he is a strong man, whose joints are well set and knit together, not whom nature hath spun out all in length and never thickened him, so it is the united and well compacted kingdom entire in itself which is strong, not that which reacheth and strideth the farthest. For in the midst of the kingdom of Jerusalem lay the kingdom of Damascus, like a canker feeding on the breast thereof: and clean through the Holy Land, though the Christians had many cities sprinkled here and there, the Turks in other strong holds continued mingled amongst them.

3. Lastly (what we have touched once before), some subjects to the kings of Jerusalem, namely, the princes of

Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli, had too large and absolute power and authority; they would do whatsoever the king would command them, if they thought good themselves. Now subjects should be adjectives, not able to stand without (much less against) their prince, or they will make but bad construction otherwise.

These three hinderances in the kingdom of Jerusalem, added to the nine former, will complete a jury. Now if any one chance to censure one or two of them, let him not triumph therein; for we produce not these impediments severally but jointly, not to fight single duels, but all in an army: *non noceant quamvis singula, juncta nocent.*

CHAP. XIX.—*What is to be conceived of the incredible Numerousness of many Armies mentioned in this Story.*

FREQUENT mention hath been made through this holy war of many armies, as well Christian as Turkish, whose number of soldiers swell very great; so as it will not be amiss once for all to discuss the point concerning the numerousness of armies anciently. And herein we branch our opinion into these severals.

1. Asian armies are generally observed greater than those of Europe: there it is but a sucking and infant company to have ten thousand; yea, under fifty thousand no number. The reason of their multitude is, not that Asia is more populous, but more spacious, than Europe. Christendom is enclosed into many small kingdoms and free states; which severally can send forth no vast numbers, and seldom agree so well as to make a joint collection of their forces: Asia lieth in common, in large countries, and many of them united under one head. Besides, it is probable (especially in ancient times, as may be proved out of Scripture) that those eastern countries often spend their whole stock of men, and employ all their arms-bearing people in their martial service, not picking or culling them out, as we in Europe use to do.

2. Modern armies are far less than those in former ages. The war *genius* of the world is altered nowadays, and supplieth number with policy; the fox's skin pieceth out the lion's hide. Especially armies have been printed in a smaller letter since guns came up: one well mounted cannon will spare the presence and play the part of a whole band in a battle.

3. Armies both of Europe, and chiefly in Asia (as farther off), are reported far greater than truth. Even as many old

men use to set the clock of their age too fast when once past seventy; and, growing ten years in a twelvemonth, are presently fourscore, yea, within a year or two after, climb up to a hundred: so it is in relating the number of soldiers; if they exceed threescore and ten thousand, then *ad rotunditatem numeri*, they are hoised up to a hundred; and then fifty thousand more cast in for advantage. Not to speak of the facile mistake in figures; one telleth, at the first voyage of pilgrims there went forth six hundred thousand¹; another counteth three hundred thousand slain at the last taking of Ptolemais²: their glib pens making no more reckoning of men than of pins. We perchance may do justly in imitating the unjust steward, setting down in the bill of our belief but fifty for every hundred.

Nor is it any paradox, but what will abide the touch, that competent forces of able and well-appointed and well-disciplined soldiers under an experienced general, are far more useful than such an unwieldy multitude. Little loadstones will in proportion attract a greater quantity of steel than those which be far greater, because their poles are nearer together, and so their virtue more united: so shall we find braver achievements by moderate armies, than by such portentous and extravagant numbers. I never read of any miracle done by the statue of St. Christopher in Paris, though he be rather of a mountainlike than manlike bigness. Yea, such immoderate great armies are subject to great inconveniences. 1. They are not so easily manageable; and the commands of their general cool and lose some virtue in passing so long a journey through so many. 2. It is improbable that so many thousands can be heaped together, but the army will be very heterogeneous, patched up of different people unsuited in their manners, which must needs occasion much cumbrance. 3. These crowds of soldiers may hinder one another in their service; as many at the same time pressing out at a wicket. 4. Victuals for so many mouths will not easily be provided; the provisions of a country serving them but a meal, they must fast afterwards. 5. Lastly, such great numbers (though this, I must confess, is only *per accidens*, yet often incident) beget carelessness and confidence in them; as if they would not thank God for their victories, but conceive it a due debt owed to

¹ Malmesb. lib. 4, p. 133.—Sexagies (surely a mistake for sexies) centum millia.

² Lamp. Mellific. Hist. p. 313.

their multitudes. This hath induced some to the opinion to maintain, that a competent able army of thirty thousand (which number Gonzaga, that brave general, did pitch on as sufficient and complete) need not fear, upon a parity in all other respects, any company whatsoever to come against them : such are enough, being as good as a feast, and far better than a surfeit.

CHAP. XX.—*Of the numberless Christians who lost their Lives in this Service.*

XERXES viewing his army, consisting of more than a million, from a high place all at a sight, is said to weep at the thought, that within a hundred years all those would be mowed down with death : but what man could behold without floods of tears, if presented to him at one view, the infinities of people who lost their lives in this action !

In the first voyage [1095] went forth (as the most conscionable counters report) three hundred thousand : of these we can make the reader but spendthrifts' accounts, All is gone ; without showing the particulars. For after the taking of Jerusalem, this army was drawn so low, that Godfrey being to fight with Ammiravissus the Egyptian, and bringing forth his whole strength, had but twelve hundred horse and nine thousand foot left him [1099]¹.

At the second setting forth, of two hundred and fifty thousand led hither by Hugh, brother to the king of France, and sundry other bishops, not a thousand came into Palestine².

In the third voyage, Conrad the emperor led forth no fewer than two hundred thousand foot and fifty thousand horse ; nor was the army of King Louis of France far inferior : of whom such as returned make no noise, as not considerable in number.

At the fourth setting forth, Frederick Barbarossa counted a hundred and fifty thousand soldiers in his army : of whom when they came to Ptolemais, no more than eighteen hundred armed men remained³.

Fifthly, what numbers were carried forth by our Richard I. and Philip of France, I find not specified ; no doubt they did bear proportion to the greatness of the undertakers : all

¹ Tyrius, lib. 9, cap. 12. ² Ursperg. in Chron. p. 239.

³ P. Æmil. in Phil. Aug. p. 175.

which at their return were consumed to a very small company.

To omit several other intermediate actions of many princes, who went forth with armies and scarce came home with families, King Louis carried forth two and thirty thousand, of which only six thousand came home, as their own writers report, who tell their tale as it may sound best for the credit of their country; whilst others count eighty thousand to have lost their lives in that voyage⁴; yea, some reckon no fewer than a hundred thousand common men, besides seven counts, to have died in Cyprus of the plague⁵.

At his second voyage to Tunis, of a hundred and twenty ships which lay at anchor at Trape in Sicily, there were no more saved than the mariners of only one French ship, and the thirteen ships of our Prince Edward; all the rest, with men, armour, and ammunition, did miserably perish⁶.

But enough of this doleful subject. If young physicians with the first fee for their practice are to purchase a new churchyard, Pope Urban II. might well have bought some ground for graves when he first persuaded this bloody project; whereby he made all Jerusalem Golgotha, a place for skulls; and all the Holy Land, Aceldama, a field of blood.

CHAP. XXI.—*The Throne of Deserts: what Nation merited most Praise in this War; and first, of the French and Dutch Service therein.*

AS in the first book we welcomed each several nation when they first entered into this service; so it is good manners now to take our solemn farewell of them at their going out, and to examine which of them deserved most commendation for their valour in this war. And herein methinketh the distinction usual in some colleges, of founders, by-founders, and benefactors, may properly take place. The founders of this holy war were the French; the by-founders, the Dutch, English, and Italian; the benefactors (according to the different degrees of bounty), the Spanish, Polish, Danish, Scots, and all other people of Europe.

⁴ Knolles, Turk. Hist. p. 106.

⁵ Magdeburg. Cent. 13, col. 606.

⁶ Fox, in Martyrol. in Hen. III. p. 337.

The French I make the founders for these reasons : First, because they began the action first. Secondly, France in proportion sent most adventurers. Some voyages were all of French, and all voyages were of some French. Yea, Frenchmen were so frequent at Jerusalem, that at this day all western Europeans there are called Franks (as I once conceived, and perchance not without company in my error), because so many Frenchmen came thither in the holy war. Since, I am converted from that false opinion, having found that two hundred years before the holy war was dreamed of, namely, in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenetes emperor of the east¹, all western Christians were known to the Greeks by the name of Franks; so that it seemeth the Turks borrowed that appellation from the Grecians. Thirdly, as France sent the most, so many of most eminent note; she showeth for the game no worse cards than a pair royal of kings: Louis the Young, Philip Augustus, and Saint Louis; besides Philip the Bold his son, who went half way to Tunis. The first and last Christian king of Europe that went to Palestine was a Frenchman; and all the kings of Jerusalem, Frederick the emperor only excepted, originally were of that nation. Fourthly, even at this day France is most loyal to the cause. Most grand masters of the Hospitallers have been Frenchmen; and at this day the knights of Malta, who have but four alberges or seminaries in all Christendom, have three of them in France²: viz., one of France in general, one of Auvergne, and one of Provence. Yet France carrieth not the upper hand so clearly, but that Germany justleth for it; especially if we add to it the Low Countries, the best stable of wooden horses, and most potent in shipping in that age of any country in Europe; which though an *amphibion* betwixt both, yet custom at this day adjudgeth it Dutch.

Now these are the several accents of honour in the German service: first, that country showeth three emperors in the holy war; Conrad, Frederick Babarossa, and Frederick II. The last of these was solemnly crowned and peaceably possessed king of Jerusalem. Secondly, Germany sent more princes to this war than all Europe besides. It would be an infinite task to reckon them all; it being true of the German nobility, what logicians say of a line, that it is *divisibilis in semper divisibilia*. Here honours

¹ Vide M. Selden on Polyolbion, p. 150.

² Sandys' Travels, p. 229.

equally descend to sons and daughters; whereby they have counts without counting in the whole empire: there were seventeen princes of Hainault, and seven and twenty earls of Mansfeld, all living together; so that one of their own countrymen saith, that the Dutch esteem none to be men, but only such as are noblemen. We will not take notice of Germany, as it is minced into petty principalities, but as cut into principal provinces. We find these regnant princes (for as for their younger brethren, herein they are not accounted) to have been personally present in the holy war:—

<i>Prince Palatine of Rhine,</i>		<i>Dukes of Bavaria,</i>	
Henry	1197	1 Güelpho	1101
<i>Duke (or as others, King) of</i>		2 Henry	1147
<i>Bohemia,</i>		3 Louis... ..	1216
Jaboslaus, or La-		<i>Landgraves of Thuringia,</i>	
dislaus.....	1147	1 Herman.....	1197
<i>Duke of Saxony,</i>		2 Louis.....	1227
Henry the younger	1197	<i>Marquess of Moravia,</i>	
<i>Marquess of Brandenburg,</i>		Conrad	1197
Otho	1197	<i>Duke of Mecklenburg,</i>	
<i>Archbishops of Mentz,</i>		Henry.....	1277
1 Conrad		<i>Earls of Flanders,</i>	
2 Siphred	1197	1 Theodoric	1147
<i>Archbishop of Triers,</i>		2 Philip.....	1190
Theodoric.....	1216	3 Baldwin	1200
<i>Archbishop of Colen,</i>		4 William Dam-	
Theodoric	1216	pier.....	1250
<i>Dukes of Austria,</i>		5 Guido.....	1270
1 Leopold II. ...	1190	<i>Dukes of Brabant,</i>	
2 Frederick	1197	1 Godfrey.....	1195
3 Leopold III.,		2 Henry	1227
surnamed the		<i>Earl of Holland,</i>	
Glorious	1216	William.....	1216

All these (I say not these were all) went themselves, and led forth other companies, suitable to their greatness. The reader, as he lighteth on more, at his leisure may strike them into this catalogue. Thirdly, Germany maintained the Teutonic order, wholly consisting of her nation, besides Templars and Hospitallers, whereof she had abundance; of whose loyal and valiant service we have spoken largely before. Lastly, she fought another holy war at the same time against the Tartars and other barbarous people, which invaded her on her north-east part. And though some

will except, that that war cannot be entitled Holy, because, being on the defensive, it was rather of nature and necessity than piety; yet upon examination it will appear, that this service was less superstitious, more charitable to Christendom, and more rational and discreet in itself; it being better husbandry to save a whole cloth in Europe, than to win a rag in Asia.

CHAP. XXII.—*The English and Italian Service compared. Of the Spanish, Polish, Norwegian, Hungarian, Danish, and Swedish Performance in this War.*

NEXT in this race of honour follow England and Italy, being very even and hard matched. England (it is no flattery to affirm what envy cannot deny) spurreth up close for the prize; and though she had a great disadvantage in the starting (Italy being much nearer to Palestine), yet she quickly recovered it. Our country sent one king (Richard I.) and three kings' sons (Robert Courthois, Richard of Cornwall, and Prince Edward) to this war. Yea, England was a daily friend to this action; and besides these great and gross sums of visible adventurers, she dropped and cast in privily many a pilgrim of good quality; so that there was scarce any remarkable battle or memorable siege done through the war wherein there were not some English of eminent desert.

Yet Italy cometh not any whit behind, if the achievements of her several states, Venetians, Genoans, Pisans, Sicilians, Florentines, were made and moulded up together: yea, for sea-service and engineers in this war, they bear the bell away from all other nations. But these things allay the Italian service:—1. It was not so abstracted from the dregs of mercenariness as that of other countries (whose adventurers counted their very work herein sufficient wages), but before they would yield their assistance they indented and covenanted with the king of Jerusalem to have such and such profits, pensions, and privileges in all places they took, to them and their posterity; not as an honorary reward freely conferred on them, but in nature of wages *ex pacto* contracted for aforehand: as the Genoans had in Ptolemais, and the Venetians in Tyre. 2. These Italians stopped two gaps with one bush; they were merchant pilgrims, and together applied themselves to profit and piety¹. Here in Tyre they had their banks, and did drive

¹ Tyrius, lib. 10, cap. 28, et lib. 12, cap. 25.

a sweet trade of spices and other eastern commodities. 3. Lastly, as at first they gave good milk, so they kicked it down with their heel, and by their mutual discord caused the loss of all they helped to gain in Syria.

Spain was exercised all the time of this war in defending herself against the Moors and Saracens in her own bowels; yet such was her charity, that whilst her own house was on burning, she threw some buckets of water to quench her neighbour's; and as other nations cast their superfluity, she her widow's mite, into the treasury of this action; and produceth two Theobalds kings of Navarre, and Alphonse king of Castile, that undertook expeditions to Palestine.

Hungary showeth one king, Andrew; who washed himself in Jordan, and then shrinking in the wetting returned presently home again. But this country, though itself did go little, yet was much gone through to the holy war (being the road to Syria for all land armies), and merited well in this action, in giving peaceable passage and courteous entertainment to pilgrims; as to Duke Godfrey, and Frederick Barbarossa, with all their soldiers as they travelled through it. Had the kings of Hungary had the same principle of baseness in their souls as the emperors of Greece, they had had the same cause of jealousy against the Christians that passed this way; yet they used them most kindly, and disdained all dishonourable suspicions. True it is, at the first voyage, King Coloman, not out of cruelty but carefulness and necessary security, did use his sword against some unruly and disorderly pilgrims; but none were there abused which first abused not themselves. But, whatever Hungary was in that age, it is at this day Christendom's best land bulwark against the Turks; where this pretty custom is used, that the men wear so many feathers as they have killed Turks; which if observed elsewhere, either feathers would be less, or valour more in fashion.

Poland could not stir in this war, as lying constant *perdue* of Christendom against the Tartarian; yet we find Boleslaus Crispus duke or king thereof (waiting on, shall I say? or) accompanying Conrad the emperor in his voyage to Palestine²; [1147] and, having defrayed all his and his army's costs and charges towards Constantinople, he returned home, as not to be spared in his own country. But if, by King David's statute³, the keepers of the baggage are to

² Munst. Cosmog. in Polon. .

³ 1 Sam. xxx. 24.

be sharers in the spoil with the fighters of the battle, then surely Poland and such other countries may entitle themselves to the honour of the war in Palestine; which in the mean time kept home, had an eye to the main chance, and defended Europe against foreign invaders.

Norway (in that age the sprucest of the three kingdoms of Scandia, and best tricked up with shipping; though at this day the case is altered with her, and she turned from taking to paying of tribute) sent her fleet of tall soldiers to Syria; who, like good fellows, asked nothing for their work but their victuals, and valiantly won the city of Sidon for the king of Jerusalem. And it is considerable, that Syria (but a step or stride from Italy) was a long race from Norway; so that their pilgrims went not only into another country, but into another world.

Denmark was also partner in the foresaid service. Also afterwards, Ericus her king, though he went not quite through to the Holy Land, yet behaved himself bravely in Spain, and there assisted the winning of Lisbon from the infidels⁴. His successor Canute, anno 1189, had provided his navy, but was prevented by death; his ships nevertheless came to Syria⁵.

Of Sweden, in this grand jury of nations, I hear no *Vous avez*; but her default of appearance hath been excused before⁶.

CHAP. XXIII.—*Of the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish, their several Adventures.*

THERE remain behind the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish. It may occasion suspicion, that these nations either did neglect or are neglected in this holy war, because clean through this history there is no mention of them or their achievements. True it is, these countries can boast of no king of their own sent to Syria, nor of any great appearing service by them alone performed. It seemeth then they did not so much play the game themselves, as bet on the hands of others: and haply the Scottish service is accounted to the French; the Welsh and Irish, to the English.

That Scotland was no cipher in this war, plainly appeareth: 1. In that David earl of Huntington, and younger brother to William the elder king of Scotland, went along

⁴ Vide Calvisium in anno 1145, et Jo. Magnum, Hist. Goth. lib. 19, cap. 10.

⁵ Baromius, in anno 1189.

⁶ Lib. cap. 13.

with our Richard I.¹; no doubt suitably attended with soldiers. This David was by a tempest cast into Egypt, taken captive by the Turks, bought by a Venetian, brought to Constantinople, there known and redeemed by an English merchant, and at last safely arrived at Alecutum in Scotland²; which Alecutum he, in memory and gratitude of his return, called Dundee, or *Dei donum*, God's gift. 2. By the plentiful provision which there was made for the Templars and Hospitallers, who here enjoyed great privileges; this amongst many others (take the Scottish law in its pure naturals), That the master of the knichts of the Temple and chief priors of the hospitall of Jerusalem (wha were keepers of strangers to the haly grave), sould be receaved themselves personally in any suit without entertaining a procuratour for them³. Nor must we here forget a saint, William a Scot, of Perth by birth, by trade a baker, in charity so abundant that he gave his tenth loaf to the poor, in zeal so fervent that he vowed to visit the Holy Land. But in his journey, as he passed through Kent, he was slain by his servant, buried at Rochester, afterwards sainted, and showed many miracles⁴.

Neither may we think, whilst all other nations were at this martial school, that Wales the while truanted at home. The Welsh, saith my author⁵, left their forests; and now with them no sport to the hunting of Turks; especially after that Wizo, and Walter his son, had founded the fair commandery for Hospitallers at Slebach in Pembrokeshire, and endowed it with rich revenues⁶.

Ireland also putteth in for her portion of honour in this service. Indeed, for the first fourscore years in the holy war, Ireland did little there or in any other country. It was divided into many petty kingdoms; so that her people's valour had no progressive motion in length, to make any impression in foreign parts, but only moved round in a circle at home, their petty *reguli* spending themselves against themselves, till our Henry II. conquered them all. After which time the Irish began to look abroad into Palestine: witness many houses for Templars, and the stately priory of Kilmainham, nigh Dublin, for Hospitallers; the last lord prior whereof, at the dissolution, was Sir John

¹ Buchan. in Gulielmo Seniore.

² Hect. Boeth.

³ Third Book of Majest. cap. 18.

⁴ Lambert, Peramb. Kent.

⁵ W. Malmes. lib. 4, p. 133.

⁶ Camden, in Pembr.

Rawson. Yea, we may well think, that all the concert of Christendom in this war could have made no music if the Irish harp had been wanting.

CHAP. XXIV.—*Of the honourable Arms in Scutcheons of Nobility occasioned by their Service in the Holy War.*

NOW for a corollary to this story, if we survey the scutcheons of the Christian princes and nobility at this day, we shall find the arms of many of them pointing at the achievements of their predecessors in the holy war.

Thus the dukes of Austria bear gules a fesse argent, in memory of the valour of Leopold at the siege of Ptolemais¹ whereof before.

The duke of Savoy beareth gules a cross argent, being the cross of St. John of Jerusalem; because his predecessors were special benefactors to that order, and assisted them in defending of Rhodes².

Queen's College in Cambridge (to which I owe my education for my first seven years in that university) giveth for parcel of her arms, amongst many other rich coats, the cross of Jerusalem; as being founded by Queen Margaret wife to King Henry VI., and daughter of Renate earl of Angiers and titular king of Sicily and Jerusalem.

The noble and numerous family of the Douglasses in Scotland (whereof at this day are one marquess, two earls and a viscount) give in their arms a man's heart, ever since Robert Bruce king of Scotland bequeathed his heart to James Douglas, to carry it to Jerusalem, which he accordingly performed³.

To instance in particulars were endless; we will only sum them up in generals. Emblems of honour borne in coats, occasioned by the holy war, are reducible to these heads:—

1. Scallop shells, which may fitly, for the workmanship thereof, be called *artificium naturæ*. It seemeth pilgrims carried them constantly with them, as Diogenes did his dish, to drink. I find an order of knights called *equites cochleares*, wearing belike cockle or scallop shells, belonging to them who had done good sea-service, especially in the holy war; and many Hollanders (saith my author

¹ Pantal. De illustr. Germ. part 2, p. 201.

² Hospin. De Orig. Mon. cap. 17, p. 190.

³ Camden, in his Descript. of Cludisdale.

for their good service at the siege of Damietta, were admitted unto that order⁴.

2. Saracens' heads; it being a maxim in heraldry, that it is more honourable to bear the head than any other part of the body. They are commonly borne either black or bloody. But if Saracens in their arms should use Christians' heads, I doubt not but they would show ten to one.

3. Pilgrims' or palmers' scrips or bags; the arms of the worshipful family of the Palmers in Kent⁵.

4. Pilgrims' staves, and such like other implements and accoutrements belonging unto them.

5. But the chieftest of all is the cross; which though borne in arms before, yet was most commonly and generally used since the holy war. The plain cross, or St. George's cross, I take to be the mother of all the rest; as plain song is much senior to any running of division. Now as by transposition of a few letters a world of words are made; so by the varying of this cross in form, colour, and metal (ringing as it were the changes), are made infinite several coats: the cross of Jerusalem or five crosses, most frequently used in this war; cross *patée*, because the ends thereof are broad; *fichée*, whose bottom is sharp, to be fixed in the ground; *wavée*, which those may justly wear who sailed either through the miseries of the sea, or sea of miseries; *molinée*, because like to the rind of a mill; *saltyrée*, or St. Andrew's cross; *floria*, or garlanded with flowers; the cross crossed; besides the divers tricking or dressing, as piercing, voiding, fimbriating, ingrailling, coupling; and in fancy and devices there is still a *plus ultra*, insomuch that crosses alone, as they are variously disguised, are enough to distinguish all the several families of gentlemen in England.

Exemplary is the coat of George Villiers duke of Buckingham; five scallop shells on a plain cross, speaking his predecessors' valour in the holy war. For Sir Nicolas de Villiers knight, followed Edward I. in his wars in the Holy Land; and then and there assumed this his new coat; for formerly he bore sable three cinquefoils argent. This Nicolas was the ancestor of the duke of Buckingham, nearly descended from the ancient family of Villiers in Normandy⁶; than which name none more redoubted in

⁴ Zuerius Boxhorn's Apology for the Holland Shipping.

⁵ Gwill. in his Heraldry.

⁶ Burton, in Leicestershire.

this service; for we find John de Villiers the one and twentieth master of the Hospitallers⁷; and another Phil de Villiers master of Rhodes, under whom it was surrendered to the Turks; a yielding equal to a conquest.

Yet should one labour to find a mystery in all arms relating to the quality or deserts of the owners of them (like Chrysippus, who troubled himself with great contention to find out a stoical assertion of philosophy in every fiction of the poets), he would light on a labour in vain. For I believe (be it spoken with loyalty to all kings of arms, and heralds their lieutenants in that faculty) that at the first, the will of the bearer was the reason of the bearing⁸; or if at their original of assuming them there were some special cause, yet time since hath cancelled it; and as, in mythology, the moral hath often been made since the fable; so a sympathy betwixt the arms and the bearer hath sometimes been of later invention. I deny not but in some coats some probable reason may be assigned of bearing them; but it is in vain to dig for mines in every ground because there is lead in Mendip Hills.

To conclude: as great is the use of arms, so this especially, to preserve the memories of the dead. Many a dumb monument, which through time or sacrilege hath lost its tongue, the epitaph, yet hath made such signs by the scutcheons about it, that antiquaries have understood who lay there entombed.

CHAP. XXV.—*Some Offers of Christian Princes for Palestine since the End of the Holy War, by Henry the Fourth of England, Charles the Eighth of France, and James the Fourth of Scotland.*

AS after that the body of the sun is set, some shining still surviveth in the west, so after this holy war was expired, we find some straggling rays and beams of valour offering that way; ever and anon the Christian prince having a bout with that design. To collect the several essays of princes glancing on that project, were a task of great pains and small profit; specially, some of them being umbrages and state representations rather than realities, to ingratiate princes with their subjects, or with the oratory of so pious a project to woo money out of people's purses or thereby to cloak and cover armies levied to other intents

⁷ Hospin. De Orig. Mon. in Joan.

⁸ Dr. Ridley, View of the Civil Law, § 6, p. 100.

besides, most of these designs were abortive, or aborsive rather, like those untimely miscarriages not honoured with a soul, or the shape and lineaments of an infant. Yet, to save the reader's longing, we will give him a taste or two; and begin with that of our Henry IV. of England.

The end of the reign of this our Henry was peaceable and prosperous. For though his title was builded on a bad foundation, yet it had strong buttresses; most of the nobility favoured and fenced it; and as for the house of York, it appeared not; its best blood as yet ran in feminine veins, and therefore was the less active. Now King Henry, in the sunshine evening of his life (after a stormy day), was disposed to walk abroad, and take in some foreign air. He pitched his thoughts on the holy war, for to go to Jerusalem, and began to provide for the same¹. One principal motive which incited him was, that it was told him he should not die till he had heard mass in Jerusalem. But this proved not like the revelation told to old Simeon²; for King Henry was fain to sing his *Nunc dimittis*, before he expected; and died in the chamber called Jerusalem in Westminster. By comparing this prophecy with one of Apollo's oracles, we may conclude them to be brethren (they are so alike), and both begotten of the father of lies; for the devil eartheth himself in an homonymy, as a fox in the ground; if he be stopped at one hole, he will get out at another. However, the king's purpose deserveth remembrance and commendation, because really and seriously intended.

Far better, I believe, than that of Charles VIII. king of France; who, in a braving embassy which he sent to our Henry VII., gave him to understand his resolutions; to make reconquest of Naples, but as of a bridge to transport his forces into Greece³; and then not to spare blood or treasure (if it were to the impairing of his crown and discompling of France) till either he had overthrown the empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to Paradise; and hence (belike) he would have at Jerusalem, invited (as he said) with the former example of our Henry IV. But our King Henry VII. (being too good a fencer to mistake flourish for a blow) quickly resented his drift (which was to persuade our king to peace, till Charles should perform

¹ Lord Verulam, in his Henry VII. p. 87.

² Luke, ii. 26.

³ Lord Verulam, in Henry VII.

his projects in little Britain and elsewhere), and dealt with him accordingly. And as for the gradation of King Charles's purposes, Naples, Greece, Jerusalem, a stately but difficult ascent (where the stairs are so far asunder, the legs must be long to stride them), the French nation weary of climbing the first, and then came down, vaulting nimbly into Naples and out of it again.

More cordial was that of James IV. king of Scotland that pious prince⁴; who, being touched in conscience for his father's death (though he did not cause it, but seemed to countenance it with his presence), ever after, in token of his contrition, wore an iron chain about his body; and, to expiate his fault, intended a journey into Syria. He prepared his navy, provided his soldiers, imparted his project to foreign princes, and verily had gone, if at the first other wars, and afterwards sudden death, had not caused his stay.

CHAP. XXVI.—*The fictitious Voyage of William, Landgrave of Hesse, to Palestine confuted.*

THESE are enough to satisfy, more would cloy. Only here I must discover a cheat, and have it pilloried, lest it trouble others as it hath done me: the story I find in Calvisius, anno 1460; take it in his very words: "William the landgrave appointed a holy voyage to Palestine; chose his company out of many noblemen and earls, in number ninety-eight: he happily finished his journey; only one of them died in Cyprus. He brought back with him six and forty ensigns of horse. Seven months were spent in the voyage.—Fab." So far Calvisius, avouching this Fab. for his author. Each word a wonder; not to say an impossibility. What? in the year 1460, when the deluge of Mahometans had overrun most of Greece, Asia, and Syria? William a landgrave (of Hesse, no doubt), neither the greatest nor next to the greatest prince in Germany, far from the sea, unfurnished with shipping, not within the suspicion of so great a performance! Six and forty horse ensigns taken! Where? or from whom? Was it in war, and but one man killed? A battle so bloodless seemeth as truthless; and the losing but of one man savoureth of never a one. But seven months spent! Such achievements besem rather an apprenticeship of years than months. Besides, was Fame all the while dead,

⁴ Buchanan, in the Life of James IV.

speechless, or asleep, that she trumpeted not this action abroad? Did only this Fab. take notice of it? be he Faber, Fabius, Fabianus, Fabinianus, or what you please. Why is it not storied in other writers? the Dutchmen giving no scant measure in such wares, and their chronicles being more guilty of remembering trifles than forgetting matters of moment.

Yet the gravity of Calvisius recording it, moveth me much on the other side; a chronologer of such credit, that he may take up more belief on his bare word than some other on their bond. In this perplexity I wrote to my oracle in doubts of this nature, Mr. Joseph Mead, fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, since lately deceased; hear his answer:—

“SIR,

“I have found your story in Calvisius's posthume Chronology, but can hear of it nowhere else. I sought Reusner's *Basilica Genealogica*, who is wont with the name of his princes to note briefly any act or accident of theirs memorable, and sometimes scarce worth it; but no such of this William, landgrave. So in conclusion, I am resolved it is a fable out of some romance; and that your author Fab. is nothing but *Fabula* defectively written. But you will say, Why did he put it into his book? I answer, he himself did not, but had noted it into some paper put into his Chronology, preparing for a new and fuller edition; which, himself dying before he had digested his new edition (as you may see I think somewhere in the preface), those who were trusted with it after his death to write it out for the press, foolishly transferred out of such paper, or perhaps out of the margin, into the text; thinking that Fab. had been some historian, which was nothing but that she author *Fabula*. If this will not satisfy, I know not what to say more unto it. Thus with best affection I rest

“Yours,

“JOSEPH MEAD.”

“Christ. Coll. June 20, 1638.”

This I thought fit to recite, not for his honour but to honour myself, as conceiving it my credit to be graced with so learned a man's acquaintance.

Thus much of offertures. I will conclude with that speech of the Lady Margaret, countess of Richmond and

Derby, and mother to our King Henry VII. (a most pious woman, as that age went; though I am not of his faith: who believed her to be the next woman in goodness to the Virgin Mary): she used to say, that if the Christian princes would undertake a war against the Turks to recover the Holy Land, she would be their laundress¹. But I believe she performed a work more acceptable in the eyes of God, in founding a professor's place in either university, and in building Christ's and St. John's colleges in Cambridge (the seminaries of so many great scholars and grave divines), than if she had visited either Christ's sepulchre or St John's church in Jerusalem.

CHAP. XXVII.—*The Fortunes of Jerusalem since the Holy War; and her present Estate.*

SEVEN years after the Latin Christians were finally expelled out of Syria, some hope presented itself of reestablishing them again. For Casanus the great Tartar prince, having of late subdued the Persians, and married the daughter of the Armenian king (a lady of great perfection) and of a Mahometan become a Christian, at the request of his wife he besieged the city Jerusalem², and took it without resistance [1298]. The temple of our Saviour he gave to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Christians, which flocked thick out of Cyprus there to inhabit. But soon after his departure it fell back again to the mamalukes of Egypt; who enjoyed it till Selimus the great Turk, anno 1517, overthrew the empire of the mamalukes, and seized Jerusalem into his hand: whose successors keep it at this day.

Jerusalem better acquitteth itself to the ear than to the eye; being no whit beautiful at all. The situation thereof is very uneven, rising into hills and sinking into dales; the lively emblem of the fortunes of the place; sometimes advanced with prosperity, sometimes depressed in misery. Once it was well compacted, and *built as a city that is at unity in itself*³; but now distracted from itself: the suspicious houses (as if afraid to be infected with more misery than they have already, by contiguousness to others) keep off at a distance, having many waste places betwixt them; not one fair street in the whole city⁴.

It hath a castle, built (as it is thought) by the Pisans,

¹ Camden's Remains.

² Centuriatores, p. totius operis penult.

³ Psal. cxxii. 3.

⁴ Bidulph, p. 117.

tolerably fortified⁵. Good guard is kept about the city, and no Christians with weapons suffered to enter. But the deepest ditch to defend Jerusalem from the western Christians is the remoteness of it; and the strongest wall to fence it is the Turkish empire compassing it round about.

Poor it must needs be, having no considerable commodity to vent; except a few beads of holy earth, which they pay too dear for that have them for the fetching. There is in the city a convent of Franciscans, to whom Christians repair for protection during their remaining in the city. The padre guardian appointeth these pilgrims a friar, who showeth them all the monuments about the city: scarce a great stone, which beareth the brow of reverend antiquity, that passeth without a peculiar legend upon it: but every vault under ground hath in it a deep mystery indeed. Pilgrims must follow the friar with their bodies and belief; and take heed how they give tradition the lie, though she tell one never so boldly. The survey finished, they must pay the guardian both for their victuals and their welcome, and gratify his good words and looks; otherwise if they forget it, he will be so bold as to remember them. The guardian farmeth the sepulchre of the Turk at a yearly rent: and the Turks, who reap no benefit by Christ's death, receive much profit by his burial; and not content with their yearly rent, squeeze the friars here on all occasions, making them pay large sums for little offences.

The other subsistence which the friars here have, is from the benevolence of the pope and other bountiful benefactors in Europe. Nor getteth the padre guardian a little by his fees of making knights of the Sepulchre: of which order I find, some hundred years since, Sir John Chamond of Lancel in Cornwall to have been dubbed knight⁶. But I believe no good English subject at this day will take that honour if offered him; both because at their creation they are to swear loyalty to the pope and king of Spain⁷, and because honours conferred by foreign potentates are not here in England acknowledged, neither in their style nor precedence, except given by courtesy: witness that famous case of the Count Arundel of Wardour, and Queen Elizabeth's peremptory resolve, that her sheep should be branded with no stranger's mark, but her own⁸.

⁵ Sandys' Travels, p. 158.

⁶ Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, p. 118.

⁷ Bidulph, p. 119. ⁸ Camden's Elizabeth, in anno 1596.

The land about it (as authors generally agree) is barren. Yet Brochard a monk⁹, who lived here some two hundred years since, commendeth it to be very fruitful. Sure he had better eyes, to see more than other men could ; or else by a synecdoche he imputeth the fertility of parcels to the whole country. But it is as false a consequence, as on the other side, to conclude from the baseness of Bagshot-heath the barrenness of all the kingdom of England. We may rather believe, that, since the fall of the Jews from God's favour, the once supernatural fertility of the land is taken away, and the natural strength thereof much abated and impaired.

CHAP. XXVIII.—*Whether it be probable that this Holy War will ever hereafter be set on foot again.*

THUS we state the question : Whether this holy war, I mean for the winning of the city of Jerusalem and recovering of Palestine, will probably ever hereafter be projected and acted again. We may believe this tragedy came off so ill the last acting, that it will not be brought on the stage the second time.

1. The pope will never offer to give motion to it, as knowing it unlikely to succeed. Policies of this nature are like sleights of hand, to be showed but once ; lest what is admired at first be derided afterwards.

2. Princes are grown more cunning, and will not bite at a bait so stale, so often breathed on. The pope's ends in this war are now plainly smelt out ; which though pretty and pleasing at first, yet princes are not now, like the native Indians, to be cozened with glass and gaudy toys : the loadstone to draw their affection (now out of nonage) must present itself necessary, profitable, and probable to be effected.

3. There is a more needful work nearer hand ; to resist the 'Turks' invasion in Europe. Hark how the Grecians call unto us, as once the man in the vision did to St. Paul, "Come over into Macedonia, and help us¹." Yea, look on the pope's projects of the last edition, and we shall find the business of the sepulchre buried in silence, and the holy war running in another channel, against the Turks in Christendom.

4. Lastly, who is not sensible with sorrow of the dissensions (better suiting with my prayers than my pen) wherewith Christian princes at this day are rent asunder ? wounds

⁹ De Terra Sancta, part. 2, cap. 1.

¹ Acts, xvi. 9.

so wide that only Heaven's surgery can heal them : till which time no hope of a holy war against the general and common foe of our religion.

We may safely conclude, that the regaining of Jerusalem and the Holy Land from the Turks, may better be placed amongst our desires than our hopes ; as improbable ever to come to pass : except the Platonic year, turning the wheel of all actions round about, bring the spoke of this holy war back again.

CHAP. XXIX.—*Of the many Pretenders of Titles to the Kingdom of Jerusalem.*

NO kingdom in the world is challenged at this day by such an army of kings as this of Jerusalem : it is sooner told what princes of Europe do not than what do lay claim to it ; they be so many. Take their names as I find them in the catalogue of Stephen a Cypriot.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. The emperors of the east. | 15. The dukes of Lorraine. |
| 2. The patriarchs of Jerusalem. | 16. Louis the Eleventh, king of France. |
| 3. The Lusignans, kings of Cyprus. | 17. The dukes of Bourbon. |
| 4. Hemfred prince of Thorrone. | 18. The dukes of Savoy. |
| 5. Conrad de la Rame
marquess of Montferrat. | 19. James de Lusigna, base son to the king of Cyprus. |
| 6. The kings of England. | 20. Charles de Lusigna, son to the prince of Galilee. |
| 7. His holiness. | 21. The state of Genoa. |
| 8. The kings of Naples. | 22. The marquess of Montferrat. |
| 9. The princes of Antioch. | 23. The count of la Val. |
| 10. The counts of Brienne. | 24. The archduke of Nice. |
| 11. The kings of Armenia. | 25. The sultan of Egypt. |
| 12. The kings of Hungary. | 26. The emperor of the Turks. |
| 13. The kings of Aragon. | |
| 14. The dukes of Anjou. | |

It seemeth, by the naming of Louis XI. and James the bastard of Cyprus, that this list was taken about the year 1466. And now how would a herald sweat with scouring over these time-rusty titles, to show whence these princes derived their several claims, and in whom the right resteth at this day ! And when his work is done, who should pay him his wages ?

My clew of thread is not strong enough, on the guidance

thereof for me to venture into this labyrinth of pedigrees ; we will content ourselves with these general observations :

1. It seemeth this catalogue containeth as well those who had *jus in regno* as those who had *jus ad regnum* : as namely, the prince of Thorone, and patriarchs of Jerusalem, and state of Genoa ; whose ambition surely soared not so high as to claim the kingdom of Jerusalem, but rather perched itself upon some lands and signories challenged therein.

2. A small matter will serve to entitle a prince to a titular kingdom : in this case, kings can better digest corrivals where they be many, and all challenge what is worth nothing. In this catalogue it seemeth some only entitle themselves out of good fellowship and love of good company : these like squirrels recover themselves, and climb up to a claim on the least bough, twig, yea leaf, of a right. Thus the counts of Brienne in France (if any still remain of that house) gave away their cake and kept it still ; in that John Bren parted with his right to this kingdom, in match with Iole his daughter to Frederick the second emperor, and yet the earls of his family pretend still to Jerusalem.

3. We may believe, that by matches and under-matches some of these titles may reside in private gentlemen ; especially in France : and what wonder ? seeing within fourteen generations, the royal blood of the kings of Judah ran in the veins of plain Joseph a painful carpenter¹.

4. At this day some of those titles are finally extinct : as that of the emperors of the east, conquered by the Ottoman family : their imperial eagle was so far from beholding the sun, that the half-moon dazzled, yea, quite put out his eyes. Rank in the same form the kings of Armenia and sultans of Egypt.

5. Some of these titles are translated : that of the Lusignans, kings of Cyprus, probably passed with that island to the state of Venice ; the claim of the Hungarian kings seemeth at this day to remain in the German emperor.

6. Some united : the claim of the archdukes of Nice (a style I meet not with elsewhere), twisted with that of the duke of Savoy ; the kings of Naples and Aragon, now joined in the king of Spain.

7. Of those which are extant at this day, England's appeareth first ; our Richard receiving it in exchange of King Guy for the island of Cyprus. Guy's resignation was vo-

¹ Matth. i. 16.

luntary and public; the world was witness to it: he truly received a valuable consideration, which his heirs long peaceably enjoyed; and our English kings styled themselves kings of Jerusalem², till afterwards they disused it for reasons best known to themselves³. Our poet Harding, in a paper he presented to King Henry VI. cleareth another double title of our kings thereunto: and because some palates love the mouldy best, and place the goodness of old verses in the badness of them, take them as they fell from his pen:—

To Jerusalem, I say, ye have great right
 From Erle Geffray that hight Plantagenet,
 Of Aungéoy erle, a prince of passing might,
 The eldest sonne of Fouke, and first beget,
 King of Jerusalem by his wife dewly set;
 Whose sonne Geffray foresaid gat on his wife
 Henry the Second, that was known full rife.

Yet have ye more, from Bawldwyne Paralyticus
 King afterward, to the same King Henry
 The crown sent and his banner pretious,
 As very heire of whole auncestrie
 Descent of bloud by title lineally
 From Godfray Boleyn, and Robert Curthose,
 That kings were thereof and chose.

8. Then cometh forth the pope's title; who claimeth it many ways: either because he was the first and chiefest mover and advancer of this war, lord paramount of this action, and all the pilgrims no better than his servants; and then according to the rule in civil law, *Quodcunque per servum acquiritur, id Domino acquiritur suo*⁴: or else he challengeth it from John Bren, who subjected that kingdom to the see of Rome⁵; and yet the said John used the style of Jerusalem all the days of his life, and also gave it away in match with his daughter: or else he deriveth it as forfeited to him by the Emperor Frederick II. and his sons, for taking arms against the church. But what need these far-about? They go the shortest cut, who accounting the pope God's lieutenant on earth (though by a commission of his own penning) give him a temporal power (especially *in ordine ad spiritualia*) over all the kingdoms of the world.

² Sabellicus, Ennead. 9, lib. 5, p. 378.

³ In his Proeme, p. 5.

⁴ Institut. lib. 1. tit. 8. §. 1.

⁵ Knolles, Hist. Turk. p. 123.

The original right of Jerusalem he still keepeth in himself, yet hath successively gratified many princes with a title derived from him : nor shineth his candle the dimmer by lighting of others. First he bestowed his title on Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily (from which root spring the many-branched French competitors) and since hath conferred the same on the house of Aragon, or king of Spain. Which king alone weareth it in his style at this day, and maketh continual war with the Turk, who detaineth Jerusalem from him : yea, all west Christendom oweth her quiet sleep to his constant waking, who with his galleys muzzleth the mouth of Tunis and Algiers. Yea, God in his providence hath so ordered it, that the dominions of Catholic princes (as they term them) are the case and cover on the east and south to keep and fence the protestant countries.

The quit-rent which the king of Spain payeth yearly to the pope for the kingdoms of Jerusalem, Naples, and Sicily, is four thousand crowns, sent to his holiness upon a hackney⁶; who grudgeth his tenant so great a pennyworth; yet cannot help himself, except he would follow the friar's advice, to send home the Spanish hackney with a great horse after him. What credit there is to be given to that thorough old (if not doting) prophecy, that a Spaniard shall one day recover Jerusalem⁷, we leave to the censure of others; and meantime we will conclude more serious matters with this pleasant passage :—

When the late wars in the days of Queen Elizabeth were hot between England and Spain⁸, there were commissioners on both sides appointed to treat of peace; they met at a town of the French king's; and first it was debated, what tongue the negotiation should be handled in. A Spaniard, thinking to give the English commissioners a shrewd gird, proposed the French tongue as most fit, it being a language which the Spaniards were well skilled in; "and for these gentlemen of England, I suppose (said he) that they cannot be ignorant of the language of their fellow subjects; their queen is queen of France as well as England." "Nay, in faith, masters (replied Doctor Dale, the master of requests) the French tongue is too vulgar for a business of this secrecy and importance, especially in a French town; we will rather treat in Hebrew the language

⁶ Sir Edwin Sandys' *View of the West World*, p. 137.

⁷ *Centuriatores*, Cent. 13. cap. 16, col. 692.

⁸ Heylin, *Microcos. in Palestine*.

of Jerusalem, whereof your master is king; I suppose you are herein as well skilled as we in French."

At this day the Turk hath eleven points of the law in Jerusalem, I mean possession; and which is more, prescription of a hundred and twenty years, if you date it from the time it came into the Ottoman family; but far more, if you compute it from such time as the mamaluke Turks have enjoyed it. Yea, likely they are to keep it, being good at hold fast, and who will as soon lose their teeth as let go their prey. With the description of the greatness of which empire will, we (God willing) now close this history.

CHAP. XXX.—*Of the Greatness, Strength, Wealth, and Wants, of the Turkish Empire; what Hopes of the approaching Ruin thereof.*

THE Turkish empire is the greatest and best compacted (not excepting the Roman itself in the height thereof) that the sun ever saw. Take sea and land together (as bones and flesh make up one body) and from Buda in the west to Taurus in the east, it stretcheth about three thousand miles; little less is the extent thereof north and south. It lieth in the heart of the world, like a bold champion bidding defiance to all his borderers, commanding the most fruitful countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa; only America (not more happy in her rich mines than in her remoteness), lieth free from the reach thereof.

Populous it is not; for men will never grow thick where meat groweth thin: it lieth waste, according to the old proverb, Grass springeth not where the grand signior's horse setteth his foot. Besides, a third part (I may say half) of those in Turkey are not Turks, but either Jews or Christians.

The strength of this empire consisteth either in bones or stones, men or munition. Of the first, the best stake in the Turk's hedge is his great number of horsemen called timariots, conceived to exceed seven hundred thousand fighting men¹: these are dispersed over all his dominions, and have lands allotted unto them in reward of their good service and valour, much in the nature of those soldiers of the Romish empire called *beneficarii*. And indeed the Turkish empire resembleth the Roman in many particulars;

¹ Knolles, in his descrip. of the greatness of the Turkish Empire.

not that they ever studied imitation, and by reading of history conformed their state to Roman precedents (far be it from us to wrong them with the false imputation of so much learning), but rather casually they have met in some common principles of policy. Of these timariots, on occasion and competent warning, he can bring into the field a hundred and fifty thousand, all bound by the tenure of their lands to arm, clothe, feed, pay themselves; so great an army, which would drain the wealth of other princes, doth cost the Great Turk no drop of expense.

Next follow his best footmen, called janizaries, taken young from their Christian parents (parallel to the Roman pretorian soldiers), being the guard of the grand signior's person. But as they watch about him, so he casteth a watchful eye on them; seeing of late they are grown from painful to be proud, yea, insolent and intolerable; it being true of these janizaries in the Turkish empire, as of elephants in an army; if well ruled, they alone are enough to win the battle; if unruly, they alone are enough to lose it. As for all other sorts of the Turks, both foot and horse, they are but slugs; as whom the grand signior little trusteth, and others need less fear.

His frontier cities, especially those which respect Christendom, are exactly fortified. Rank with these such places of importance and castles as command passages of consequence. As for his inland cities, there is no superfluous, scarce competent strength in them. But if we allow those people to be chaste who never were solicited to be otherwise, then may many cities lying in the bowels of his empire pass for strong, which for a long time have not had nor in haste are likely to have the temptation of a siege.

Of ordnance he hath great store, and hath excellent materials to make them of; and is also very powerful in shipping. Indeed ships of great burden would be burdensome in those narrow seas, and experience hath found lesser vessels of greater use, whereof he hath store. And though the Turks either want ingeny or industry, either care not or cannot be good shipwrights themselves; yet the spite is, as long as there is gold amongst the Turks there will be dross amongst the Christians, I mean some who for base gain will betray the mysteries of our useful arts unto them. As for wood to build with, he hath excellent in Bithynia; yea, generally in this wild empire, trees grow better than men. To his sea munition may be reduced his multitude of slaves, though not the informing

yet (against their wills) the assisting form of his galleys, and in whom consisteth a great part of their strength and swiftness.

Nor must we forget the pirates of Tunis and Algiers, which are Turks and no Turks; sometimes the grand signior disclaimeth, renounceth, and casteth them off to stand upon their own bottom; as when those Christian princes which are confederate with him complain to him of the wrongs those sea robbers have done them. But though he sendeth them out to seek their own meat, he can cloak them under his wings at pleasure: and we may verily believe, though sometimes in the summer of his own prosperity he throweth them off as an upper garment of no use, yet in cold weather he will buckle them on again; and, if necessity pincheth him, receive them not as retainers at large, but as his best servants in ordinary.

Nor is it the last and least part of the strength of this empire, that all her native people are linked together in one religion; the discords about which in other kingdoms have been the cause, first of the unjointing, and then of the final ruin and desolation of many worthy states; whereas here, the Mahometan religion (if I wrong it not with so good a name) is so full of unity and agreement, that there is no difference and dissension about it. Yea, well may that coat have no seam which hath no shape. A senseless ignorant profession it is, not able to go to the cost of a controversy: and all colours may well agree in the dark.

Next the strength followeth the wealth; yea, it is part thereof: for all rich kingdoms may be strong, and purchase artificial fortification. The certain and constant revenues of the Great Turk are not great, if withal we consider the spaciousness of his dominions. Some have mounted his ordinary yearly income to eight millions of gold². But men guess by uncertain aim at princes' revenues, especially if they be so remote: we may believe that in their conjecture herein, though they miss the mark, they hit the butt. Far greater might his *intrado* be, if husbandry, and chiefly merchandise, were plied in his country; merchants being the *vena porta* of a kingdom; without which it may have good limbs, but empty veins, and nourish little. Now although this empire be of a vast extent, having many safe harbours to receive strangers there, and stable commodities (chiefly if industry were used) to allure them thither; yet

² Knolles.

hath it in effect but four prime places of trading : Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, and Tauris. As for the extraordinary revenues of the grand signior, by his escheats and other courses if he pleaseth to take them, they are a *nemo scit* ; for in effect he is worth as much as all his subjects (or slaves rather) throughout his whole empire are worth, his sponges to squeeze at pleasure.

But the lion is not so fierce as he is painted, nor this empire so formidable as fame giveth it out. The Turk's head is less than his turban, and his turban less than it seemeth ; swelling without, hollow within. If more seriously it be considered, this state cannot be strong, which is a pure and absolute tyranny. His subjects under him have nothing certain but this, that they have nothing certain ; and may thank the grand signior for giving them whatsoever he taketh not away from them. Their goods they hold by permission, not propriety ; not sure that either they or theirs shall reap what they sow, or eat what they reap ; and hereupon husbandry is wholly neglected ; for the ploughman (as well as the ground he plougheth) will be soon out of heart, if not maintained and (as I may say) composted with hopes to receive benefit by his labours. Here great officers, if they love themselves, must labour not to be beloved ; for popularity is high treason : and generally wealth is a sin to be expiated by death. In a word, it is a cruel tyranny, bathed in the blood of their emperors upon every succession ; a heap of vassals and slaves ; no nobles (except for time being, by office) no gentlemen, no freemen, no inheritance of land, no stirp or ancient families ; a nation without any morality, arts, and sciences, that can measure an acre of land or hour of a day.

And needeth not that kingdom constant and continued pointing, which is cemented with fear, not love ? May we not justly think, that there be many in this empire who rather wait a time than want desire to overthrow it ? For though some think the Grecians in Turkey bear such inveterate hate to the Latin Christians, that they would rather refuse deliverance than accept them for their deliverers ; yet surely both they, and perchance some native Turks, out of that principle of desiring liberty (the second rule next preserving life in the charter of nature), would be made (if this empire were seriously invaded, so that the foundation thereof did totter), sooner to find two hands to pluck it down than one finger to hold it up.

And we have just cause to hope that the fall of this

unwieldy empire doth approach. It was high noon with it fifty years ago; we hope now it draweth near night; the rather, because luxury, though late, yet at last hath found the Turks out, or they it. When first they came out of Turcomania, and were in their pure naturals, they were wonderfully abstemious, neglecting all voluptuousness, not so much out of a dislike as ignorance of it; but now, having tasted the sweetness of the cup, they can drink as great a draught as any others. That paradise of corporeal pleasure which Mahomet promised them in the world to come, they begin to anticipate here, at leastwise to take an earnest of it, and have well soaked themselves in luxury. Yea, now they begin to grow covetous, both prince and people, rather seeking to enjoy their means with quiet than enlarge them with danger.

Heaven can as easily blast an oak as trample a mushroom. And we may expect the ruin of this great empire will come; for of late it hath little increased its stock, and now beginneth to spend of the principal. It were arrant presumption for flesh to prescribe God his way; or to teach him, when he meaneth to shoot, which arrow in his quiver to choose. Perchance the western Christians, or the Grecians under him (though these be better for seconds than firsts, fitter to foment than raise a faction), or his own janizaries, or the Persian, or the Tartarian, or some other obscure prince not as yet come into play in the world, shall have the lustre from God to maul this great empire. It is more than enough for any man to set down the fate of a single soul; much more to resolve the doom of a whole nation when it shall be. These things we leave to Providence to work, and posterity to behold. As for our generation, let us sooner expect the dissolutions of our own microcosms than the confusion of this empire; for neither are our own sins yet truly repented of, to have this punishment removed from us; nor the Turks' wickedness yet come to the full ripeness, to have this great judgment laid upon them.

SOLI DEO GLORIA.



CHRONOLOGY.

PREFACE.

HEREIN I present the Reader with a general view and synopsis of the whole story of the age of the Holy War; that he may see the coherence betwixt the East and the West, and in what equipage and correspondency of time the Asian affairs go on with those of Europe: for they will reflect a mutual lustre and plainness on one another.

The Chronology is marshalled into ranks and files: the ranks, or transverse spaces, contain twenty years on a side; the files, or columns directly downward, are appropriated to those several states whose name they bear.

In the first six columns I have followed Helvicus with an implicit faith, without any remarkable alteration, both in ingrafting of years and making them concur, as also leaving sometimes empty spaces. In the other columns I have followed several authors, and left the years unnoted where the time was uncertain; counting it better to bring in an *ignoramus* than to find a verdict where the evidence was doubtful and obscure.

Such long notes as would not be imprisoned within the rates of this Chronology, we have referred to at the foot of the page.

Know that every note belongeth to that year wherein it beginneth, except signed with this mark ⊗; which reduceth it to the year it endeth in.

Br. standeth for brother, S. son, M. months, D. days.

Note, whilst there were caliphs of Egypt, then the sultans were but deputies and lieutenants; but afterwards the mamaluke sultans were absolute princes, acknowledging no superior.

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.	
1095	Urban II.	8 Alex- ius Com- nen	15 Hen- ry IV.	40 Wil- liam Rufus	8 Phi- lip I.	The Council of Clermont foundeth the Holy War.	
6		9	16	41	9	37 1st Voyage under Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon.	
7		10	17	42	10	38 Nice,	} won by the Christians.
8		11	18	43	11	39 Antioch,	
9	M.4. D.18		19	44	12	40 Jerusalem,	
1100	Paschal II.	2	20	45	13	41 Godfrey, King of Jerusa- lem.	1
1		3	21	46	Hen-1 ry I.	42 Baldwin, his brother. 2nd Voyage under several Cæsarea,	1
2		4	22	47	2	43 Apamia, Laodicea,	2
3		5	23	48	3	44	3
4		6	24	49	4	45 Ptolemais,	4
5		7	25	M. 10.	5	46	5
6		8	26	Henry 1 V.	6	47	6
7		9	27	2	7	48	7
8		10	28	3	8	49	8
9		11	29	4	9	Louis the 2 Gross	9
1110		12	30	5	10	3 Berytus, Sidon,	10
1		13	31	6	11	4	11
2		14	32	7	12	5	12
3		15	33	8	13	6	13
4		16	34	9	14	7	14

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Egypt.</i>
				Muste- 1 tahr.	Mus- 1 teal.
				2	2
				3	3
Boemund. 1				4	4
2				5	5
He is taken cap- 3	Bernard. 1	I. Arnulphus M. 5.	I. Gerard. 1	6	6
tive. Tancred 4	2	II. Dabertus. He 1	2	7	Elamir, S. 1
manageth the 5	3	stickleth for Jeru- 2	3	8	2
state in his ab- 6	4	salem, to get it 3	II. Rei- 1	9	3
sence. 7	5	from the king. 4	mund 2	10	4
Boemund ran- 8	6	Flieth to Antioch ; 5	de Po- 3	11	5
somed. 9	7	III. Ebremanus put 6	dio. 4	12	6
He unfortunately 10	8	in by the King, dis- 7	5	13	7
besiegeth Char- 11	9	placed by the Pope. 8	Dieth in 6	14	8
ras ; Travelleth 12	10	IV. Gibellinus, 1	Sicily. 7	15	9
into France ; 13	11	Archbishop of 2	Arles. 3	16	10
Returneth and 14	12	5. Arnulphus, 1	10	17	11
wasteth Grecia 15	13	Archdeacon of 2	11	18	12
with his navy. 16	14	Jerusalem. 3	12	19	13
Boemund II. S. 17	15			20	14
yet a child, and 18					
living in Apulia : 19					
in whose minority, 20					
first Tancred, then 21					
Roger his kins- 22					
man, were princes 23					
in trust. 24					

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1115	17	35	10	15	8	15
6	18	36	11	16	9	16
7	<i>M. 5. D. 9.</i>	37	12	17	10	Baldwin's voyages into Egypt : 17 1st. When he took Pharamia.
8	Gelasius. 1 <i>D. 5</i>	Calo- Johan- nes S. 1	13	18	11	2nd. When he got his death. 18
9		2	14	19	12	Baldwin II. his kinsman. 1
1120	Calixtus 2 II.	3	15	20	13	2
1	3	4	16	21	14	3
2	4	5	17	22	15	He fighteth on disadvantage with the Turks, and is taken captive. 4
3	5	6	18	23	16	5
4	<i>M. 10. D. 13</i>	7	<i>M. 9</i>	24	17	He is dearly ransomed. Tyre taken by the Christians. 6
5	Honorius 2 II.	8	Lo- thari- us the	25	18	Baldwin getteth so much spoil from the conquered Turks as serveth to pay his ransom. 7
6	3	9	Sax- on. 2	26	19	8
7	4	10	3	27	20	9
8	5	11	4	28	21	10
9	<i>M. 2. D. 3.</i>	12	5	29	22	11
1130	Innocen- 1 tius II.	13	6	30	23	12
1	2	14	7	31	24	(a) 13
2	3	15	8	32	25	Fulco, Earl of Anjou, in right of Millesent, his wife, eldest daughter to King Baldwin. 1
3	4	16	9	33	26	2
4	5	17	10	34	27	3

(a) 1131. Helvicus giveth Baldwin II. sixteen years : but herein he is deceived ; as also in allowing King Fulco but eight. We, according the consent of the best authors, have given the former thirteen, the latter ten.

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Knights Templars.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Egypt</i>
7	16	4	13		21	15
8	17	5	14		22	16
Roger, fighting unadvisedly with the Turks, is slain.⊗	18	He is accused for his wicked life; (b)	15		23	17
10	19	7	16		Muste- ras- chad S.	18
11	20	VI. Guari- mund of	17	Hugh de Paganis,	2	19
12	21	Amiens.	18	and Gan- fred of S. Omars.	3	20
13	22	3	19		4	21
14	23	4	20	These first nine years there were but nine Templars.	5	22
15	24	5	21		6	23
16	25	6	22		6 Ras- chid S. af- ter- wards deposed by the Wise- man of the Is- mael- ites.	24
Boemund, now of age, cometh to Anti- och, and marrieth King Baldwin's daughter.	26	7	23		7	25
18	27	8	24		8	26
19	28	9	25	The Order of the Templars confirmed by the Pope and a Council.	9	27
20	29	VII. Stephen suspected to have been poi- soned by the King.	1	26	10	28
21	30	2	27	Everardus, 1 master of the	1	29
He is sur- prised and slain in Cilicia. Alice, the relict of Boemund, Princess Regent in the minority of Constantia her daughter.	31	VIII. William Prior of the Sepulchre.	28	Templars, 2 to whom Peter Clu- niacensis writ a book in praise of this Order.	2	30
1	32	2	29		3	31
2	33	3	30		4	32
3	34	4	31			33
4	35	5	32			34

(b) Arnulphus posteth to Rome, and there buyeth to be innocent.

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1135	6	18	11	35	28	4
6	7	19	12	Stephen the Usurper.	29	5
7	8	20	13		30	6
8	9	21	Conrad III.	3	Louis VII. or the Younger.	7
9	10	22		4		8
1140	11	23	3	5	3	9
1	12	24	4	6	4	10
2	13	M. 7.	5	7	5	Baldwin III. S. Edessa won by Sanguin from the Christians. 1
3	M. 7. D. 8.	Emanuel Comnenus, S.	6	8	6	2
4	Celestine II. M. 5.	2	7	9	7	3
5	Lucius II. M. 11.	3	8	10	8	4
6	Eugenius I. III.	4	9	11	9	5
7	2	5	10	12	10	3 Voyage under Conrad, the Emperor, and Louis, King of France. 6
8	3	6	11	13	11	Damascus besieged in vain. 7
9	4	7	12	14	12	Discords between Baldwin and his mother Millesent. 8
1150	5	8	13	15	13	9
1	6	9	14	16	14	10
2	7	10	Fredericus Barossa.	17	15	11
3	M. 4. D. 12. Anastasius IV.	11	2	18	16	12
4	M. 4. D. 24.	12	3	19	17	Baldwin taketh the city of Ascalon. 13

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Knights Templars.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Egypt.</i>
	5	36	6	33		35
Reimund Earl of Poictou, in right of Constantia his wife. He acknowledgeth himself vassal to the Grecian	1 Rodolphus chosen 2 Patriarch by the laity. 3 4	1 2 3 4	7 8 9 10	34 35 36 37	Muctaphil S. to Mucta-her. 2 3 4 5	1 Elhaphit, S. In the 20th year of his reign he was killed by one Nosradine.— 2 3 4 5
Emperor; and resigneth Cilicia to him.	5 6 7 8 9 10 11	5 6 1 Almericus. 2 3 4 5	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	38 39 40 41 42 43 44		6 7 8 9 10 11 12
He honourably entertaineth the King of France.(a)	12 13	6 7	3 4	45 46	13 14	12 13
Constantia his wid.	1	8	5	47	15	14
Princess.	2	9	6	48	16	15
	3	10	7	49	17	16
Reinold of Castile marrieth Constantia, and is prince in her right.⊗	4 5 1	11 12 13	8 9 10	50 51 52	18 19 20	17 18 19

(a) Reimund is slain in battle by Noradin.—*Tyr. lib.* 17. c. 9.

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.	
1155	Adrian IV.	2	13	4	18		14
6		3	14	5	2		15
7		4	15	6	3		16
8	M.S. D.28		16	7	4		17
9	Alexander III.	1	17	8	5		18
1160		2	18	9	6	Order of the Carmelites first begun in Syria.	19
1		3	19	10	7		20
2		4	20	11	8		21
3		5	21	12	9	Almerick, his brother.	1
4		6	22	13	10		2
5		7	23	14	11		3
6		8	24	15	12	At the instance of Sultan Sanar he goeth into Egypt, and driveth out Syracon.	4
7		9	25	16	13	Cæsarea-Philippi lost.	5
8		10	26	17	14	Almerick, contrary to his promise, invadeth Egypt.	6
9		11	27	18	15		7
1170		12	28	19	16	He taketh a voyage into Grecia, to visit the Emperor his kinsman.	8
1		13	29	20	17		9
2		14	30	21	18		10
3		15	31	22	19		11
4		16	32	23	20	Baldwin IV.	1

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Knights Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Knights Templars.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Egypt.</i>
He, to 2 despite the Gre- cian 3 Empe- ror, was- teth 4 the is- land Cy- prus. 5 6	Alme-14 ricus cru- elly tor- men- 15 ted for speak- ing a- 16 gainst Prince Rei- 17 nold's marri- age. 18	In 11 vain he crawl- eth to 12 Rome to com- plain 13 of them. 14 X. A- 1 malri-	53 (a) 54 III. Augeri- us de Bal- ben.	Bertrand de 1 Blanchfort. 2 He is taken 3 prisoner.— <i>Tyr.</i> l. 18. c. 15. Philip of 1 Naples. Afterward 2 he renounceth	21 22 23 24 25	20 Elhadach. 1 These Caliphs of Egypt are 2 very difficult to regulate by chronology; 3 and are ever heteroclitcs, either defici- 4 ent or redun-
7 Reinold carried captive 8 to Alep- po. Boe- 1 mund III. S. to Rei-2 mund. 3 4 He is 5 conquer- ed, and taken 6 prisoner; ranso- meth 7 himself. 8	19 20 He 21 prescri- beth rules 22 to the Carme- lites. 23 24 25 26 27 28	cus, 2 Prior of the Se- pul- chre. 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	III. Arnold- us de Cam- pis. V. Gilbertus Assalit: who, to get Pelu- sium for his own Order, instigated King Alme- rick (con- trary to his oath) to in- vade Egypt.	his place.— <i>Tyr.</i> lib. 20. c. 24. 12 Templars hanged for traitors. Otto de Sancto Amando, one that feared neither God nor man.— <i>Tyr.</i> lib. 21. c. 29.	26 Mus-1 tene- ged. 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	dant in the 5 proportion of time consent- ing with other 6 princes. Hi- therto we have followed Hel- 7 vicus; now adhere to Ty- rius, lib. 19. 8 cap. 19. and lib. 20. cap. 12. 9 Sanar and 10 Dargon fight for the Sul- tany of E- 11 gypt. 12 13 14
9 10 11 12 13	29 30 31 32 33	12 13 14 15 16	VI. Castus. VII. Jobertus.	The Templars basely kill the Embassador of the Assas- sins.	Mus-1 tezi, 1 S. 2 3 4 5	15 <i>Turkish Kings of Egypt.</i> —16 Saladin with his horse-mace knocketh out the brains of Elhadach, the last Turkish Ca- liph in Egypt.— <i>Tyr.</i> lib. 20. cap. 12.

(a) 1156. This catalogue of the Masters of the Hospitallers I find in Hospinian, *De Origine Monachatus*. It seemeth strange this Nestor Rodulphus should govern his Order 54 years; yet it appeareth to be so, if we compare Tyrius, lib. 14. cap. 6.

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of En- gland.	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.	
1175	17	33	24	21	38		2
6	18	34	25	22	39	William Marquis of Mont- ferrat marrieth Sibyl, the King's sister.	3
7	19	35	26	23	40	Saladin shamefully con- quered at Ascalon.	4
8	20	36	27	24	41		5
9	21	37	28	25	42	Fatal jealousies between the King and Reimund,	6
1180	M. 11. D. 29.	Alexius I Comne- nus.	29	26	Phi- 1 lip Au- gust- us, 2 S.	Prince of Tripoli, for many years.	7
1	Lucius III. 1	2	30	27			8
2	2	Andro-1 nicus, S.	31	28	3		9
3	3	2	32	29	4	Baldwin disabled with le- prosy, retireth himself from managing the state.	10
4	4	M. 11.	33	30	5		11
5	M. 3. D. 28. Urban III.	Isaac-1 Angelus.	34	31	6	Baldwin V. after eight months, poisoned.	
6	M. 10. D. 25.	2	35	32	7	Guy de Lusignan, in right of Sibyl, his wife.	1
7	Gregory VIII. M. 1. D. 27.	3	36	33	8 1	Conrad, Mar- quis of Mont- ferrat, defen- deth Tyre, and is cho- sen King.	2
8	Clement III.	4	37	34	9 2	Guy taken pri- soner: Jeru- salem won by Saladin. Guy having got liberty, be- siegeth Ptole- mais.	3
9	2	5	38	M. 7. Rich- ard I.	10 3	4th Voyage under Frederic, surnamed Barbarossa.	4
1190	3	6	Hen-1 ry VI. S.	2	11 4	5th Voyage under Richard of England, and Philip of France.	5
1	M. 2. D. 10.	7	2	3	12 5	Conrad murdered in the market-place of Tyre. Ptolemais taken.	6
2	Celestine III.	8	3	4	13	Guy exchangeth his king- dom of Jerusalem for Cy- prus.	7
3	3	M. 7. 9 Alexius Comne- nus 1	4	5	14	Henry, Earl of Cham- pagne.	1
4	4	Angelus.	5	6	15		2

(a) 1188. That Antioch was betrayed by a Patriarch, is plain by Sabellicus: but whether Almericus was this traitor Patriarch, or whether it was done by the Grecian Antipatriarch, is uncertain. Here we cease that column, as despairing to continue their succession any longer.

(b) 1192. Here is a subject for industry to deserve well, in filling up the *χάσμα*

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Knights Templars.</i>	<i>Masters of Dutch Kts.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria.</i>	<i>Turkish Kings of Egypt.</i>
14	34	17				6	
15	35	18	VIII. Roger de Mo- ris.			7	He get- teth Damas- cus and the whole Turk- ish king- dom in Syria. —(Tyr. lib. 21. c. 6.) in de-
Reinold of 16 Castile, once Prince of An- tioch, ran- somed from captivity.	36	19		Arnoldus de Troge. —Tyr. lib. 22. c. 7.		8	1
17	37	20				9	2
18	38	21				10	3
Boemund, 19 by putting away Theo- dora, his lawful wife. causeth much trouble in this state.	39	22				Nar- 1 zai, S.	spite of Norad- in's son.
20	40	XI. He- 1 raclius, Archbi- shop of Cesarea.				2	These great figures reckon
21	41	2				3	6
22	42	3				4	reign of 16 years (for so many authors give him), from his sel- zing of the king- dom of Damas- cus.
23	43	4		He dieth in an em- bassy to the Prin- ces in Eu- rope. Gerardus Ridford.		5	7
24	44	5	He went with He- raclius into the West; return- eth;			6	1
Antioch by the 45	45	6				7	9
Patri- 46	46	7				8	10
arches 46	46	8				9	11
betrayed 46	46	9				10	12
to Sala- 46	46	10				11	13
din. (a) 46	46	11				12	14
27	47	12				13	15
28	48	13				14	16
Antioch won a- gain from the Turks, by Frede- rick, Duke of Su- abia.		any aid. 10		at liberty, and slain in the siege of Ptolemais.	Hen-1 ry a Wal- pot. 2	11	gan far sooner.
The time of Bo- emund's death is as uncertain as who was his suc- cessor; only we find from this time forward, the same princes (but without name or certain date) sty- led both of An- tioch and Tripoli.		11				12	15
		He lived viciously, and died obscurely. (c)		(b)		13	16
		X. Er- megar- dus Daps.				14	Saphra- 1 din, bro- ther to Sa- ladin. 3

of the Masters of the Templars, from the death of Gerard till the year 1215, whose names we cannot find.

(c) 1193. Hitherto the succession of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem is accurately collected out of Tyrius. The order of those which follow is not so authentic, being caught as we might out of several authors.

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.	
1195	5	2	6	7	16		3
6	6	3	7	8	17	Almerick II. King also of Cyprus.	1
7	M.9. D.11	4	8	9	18	6th Voyage, under Henry Duke of Saxony.(a)	2
8	Innocent 1 III.	5	9	10	19	The Dutchmen miserably killed of St. Martin's day.	3
9	2	6	Otho 1 IV.	11	20	Simon Earl of Montfort co- meth into Palestine, and	4
1200	3	7	2	John 1 his br.	21	maketh a profitable peace.	5
1	4	8	3	2	22		6
2	5	Isaac again with 9	4	3	23	7th Voyage, under Baldwin, Earl of Flanders; but by the Pope diverted against	7
3	6	Alexius his S. 1	5	4	24	the Grecian usurping Em- peror.	8
4	7	Bald- win, E. of Flan- ders. 2	6	5	25 1	Interregnum of 5 years. Al- merick dieth of a surfeit, according to Marinus Sa- nutus.	9
5	8	Henry 1 his br.	7	6	26 2		10
6	9	2	8	7	27 3	The holy war turned against the Albigenses in France.	11
7	10	3	9	8	28 4		12
8	11	4	10	9	29 5	Almerick for his laziness de- posed by the Pope, dieth soon after.	13
9	12	5	11	10	30	John Bren made King of Je- rusalem by the Pope.	1
1210	13	6	12	11	31		2
1	14	7	13	12	32		3
2	15	8	Fre- 1 de- rick	13	33		4
3	16	9	II. 2	14	34	An army of children going to the holy war wofully perish by the way.	5
4	17	10	3	15	35		6

(a) Henry the Palatine, Herman Landgrave, &c. win Berytus.

Princes of An- tioch.	Patri- archs of Jerusa- lem.	Masters of Kts. Hospi- tallers.	Masters of Knights Templars.	Masters of Dutch Knights.	Caliphs of Syria.	Turkish Kings of Egypt.
				6	16	Between him 3
				7	17	and Saladin's 4
				8	18	sons (whom 4
				9	19	at last he con- 5
				10	20	quered and 6
						subdued) was 7
						long war, to 5
						the great com- 6
						fort and pro- 7
						fit of the 8
						Christians. 9
				II. Otto a- 1	21	8
				Kerpin.		
				2	22	9
				3	23	10
				4	24	11
				5	25	12
				6	26	13
				III. Her- 1	27	14
				mannus,		
				Bart.		
				2	28	1 Meladin 15
				3	29	(as most com- 16
				4	30	pute) succeed- 17
						eth his fa- 18
						ther Saphra- 19
						din in Egypt. 20
				IV. Her- 1	31	4 18
				mannus a		
				Saltza.		
				2	32	5 19
				3	33	6 20
				4	34	7 21
				5	35	8 22

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A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.	
1215	18	11	4	16	36	The Great Lateran Council, to advance the Holy War.	7
6	M. 6. D. 9.	Peter 1 Earl of	5	17	37	8th. Voyage under Andrew, King of Hungary.	8
7	Hono- rius III.	Aux- erre. 2	6	Hen-1 ry III. S.	38		9
8	3	3	7	2	39	Damietta besieged.	10
9	4	4	8	3	40	Damietta taken.	11
1220	5	5	9	4	41	The Christians entrapped in water, restore Damietta for their liberty; and conclude an eight years' truce.	12
1	6	Ro- bert.	10	5	42		13
2	7	2	11	6	43		14
3	8	3	12	7	He 44 dieth.	John Bren cometh into France, and there receiveth rich lega- cies from Philip Augustus.	15
4	9	4	13	8	Lou- 1 is VIII.		16
5	10	5	14	9	2		17
6	M. 8	6	15	10	3	He is honourably entertained at Rome, and resigneth his kingdom.	18
7	Gregory IX.	7	16	11	St. 1 Louis	Frederick, by marriage of Iole, Bren's daughter.	1
8	2	Bald- win II.	17	12	2		2
9	3	2	18	13	3	9th Voyage under Frederick; who crowned himself King	3
1230	4	3	19	14	4	of Jerusalem; and concluding a ten years' truce, returneth into Europe, leaving Reinold, Duke of Bavaria, his viceroy in Palestine.	4
1	5	4	20	15	5		5
2	6	5	21	16	6		6
3	7	6	22	17	7		7
4	8	7	23	18	8		8

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Templars.</i>	<i>Masters of Dutch Knights.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria.</i>	<i>Turkish Kings of Egypt.</i>
	He is present in the Lateran Council to solicit the Holy War.	XIII. Gotheridus de la-Rat.	P. de Montecuto. He fighteth stoutly with the rest of his	6 7 8 9 10	36 37 38 39 40	9 Saphradin 23 (according to M. Paris, p. 404.) 10 dieth for 24 grief that the fort nigh to 11 Damietta 25 was taken. ⊗ 12 Meladin 1 13 2
			Order at the taking of Damietta.— <i>Mat. Paris</i> , p. 409, and 419.	11 12 13 14 15 16 17	41 42 43 44 45 1 2	14 Is wonderfully kind to the Christians 3 15 half drowned in Egypt. 4 16 5 17 6 18 7 19 8 20 9 21 10 22 11 23 12
	XIV. Geraldus. A bitter enemy he was to Frederick the Emperor, and sided with the Pope and	60,000 crowns bequeathed by the K. of France, to the Hospitallers and Templars. XIV. Guarinus de Montecuto. XV. Cervius.	Oliver. An inveterate	The Dutch Knights under Hermannus their Master	Ta-her, S. Mus-tenat-zer.	
The Pr. of Antioch dieth without lawful issue. Frederick, base S. to Fred. the Emp. is by Reinold, viceroy 1 of Jerusalem, made Pr. of Antioch, in spite 2 of Hen. K. of Cyprus, who claimed that place. 3	Templars against him.	XVI. Bertrandus de Campis.	enemy to Frederick, whom he most spitefully and treacherously used.	21 22 23 24 25	24 25 26 27 28	13 14 15 16 17

(a) 1230. Several authors assign several dates wherein the Dutch Knights came into Prussia: Perchance they came in several parcels. Their succession I had out of Pantaleon, Munster, and the Centurists. Quære, whether these Masters of the Dutch Knights in Prussia had also command over those of their Order in Syria?

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.
1235	9	8	24	19	9	9
6	10	9	25	20	10	10
7	11	10	26	21	11	11
8	12	11	27	22	12	The former ten years' truce expired. Reinold concludeth another of the same term.
9	13	12	28	23	13	10th Voyage under Theobald, King of Navarre.
1240	14	13	29	24	14	He is unfortunately overthrown in battle at Gaza.
1	M. 5. Celestine IV. D. 17.	14	30	25	15	11th Voyage under Richard, Earl of Cornwall.
2	The See void.	15	31	26	16	16
3	Innocent I IV.	16	32	27	17	17
4	2	17	33	28	18	The Corasines conquer the Christians, and sack Jerusalem.
5	3	18	34	29	19	19
6	4	19	35	30	20	20
7	5	20	36	31	21	12th Voyage under St. Louis, King of France.
8	6	21	37	32	22	He arriveth in Cyprus, and there wintereth;
9	7	22	38	33	23	taketh Damietta; beateth the Saracens.
1250	8	23	Inter- regnum of 23 years, wherein there were many competi- tors for the Em- pire.	34	24	Robert, Earl of Artois slain. Louis taken prisoner.
1	9	24		35	25	Interregnum of 14 years. The Pastorells overthrown in France.
2	10	25		36	26	King Louis being ransomed, cometh into Palestine; recovereth and fortieth Sidon:
3	11	26		37	27	returneth into France.
4	M. 5. D. 14.	27	5	38	28	5

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Knights Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Templars.</i>	<i>Masters of Dutch Knts.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria</i>	<i>Great Chams of Tartary.</i>	<i>Turkish Kings of Egypt.</i>
4				26			29 18
5				27			30 19
6				28			31 20
7				29			32 21
8				30			33 22
9				31			34 23
10	XV. Robertus.		Her- mannus Petrago- rinus.— <i>M. Paris</i> p. 726.	V. Con- rad Land- grave of Hassa- sia. 3			35 24
11		XVII. Petrus de Villebride;		2			36 25
12				3			37 26
13	He was in the battle against the	taken captive by the Cora- sines.— <i>M.</i> <i>Paris</i> , p. 833.	All the Tem- plars slain to	4			38 27
14	Corasines: as appear- eth in <i>M.</i> <i>Paris</i> ;	XVIII. Guli- elmus de Cas- tello novo.— <i>M. Paris</i> , p. 836.	eighteen (a) the Hospi- tallers to	5			39 28
15	where he writeth a bemoan- ing letter.		nineteen, the Dutch Knights to three.	6			40 29
The 16				7			he dieth at Damiet-30 ta's taking. Melech-1 sala.
Antio- chians, fighting inadvi- sedly with the Turks,				8			
				9			<i>Mameluke</i> <i>Sultans</i> 2 <i>of Egypt.</i>
are over- thrown.	The Patri- arch of Je- rusalem was taken prisoner with the King of France.— <i>Magde- burg</i> , cent. 13. col. 697.	All the Hospi- tallers, with their Master, slain to one. XIX. Hugo Revel: He made a statute whereby wo- men were ad- mitted into this Order.	All the Tem- plars, with their Master, slain to two.	10			Tarque-1 minus.
Conrad, S. to Frede- rick, Prince of Anti- och.				11			2
				12			3
				VI. 1 Poppo		Mango per- suaded by Haito K. 1 of Armenia to turn Christian 2	4
				2			

(a) 1245. Here we are at another loss for the names of the Templars, and will be thankful to those who will help us to them.

A. D.	Popes.	Emper. of the East.	Emper. of the West.	Kings of England	Kings of France.	Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.	
1255	Alexan- der IV.	2	28	6	39	29	6
6		3	29	7	40	30	7
7		4	30	8	41	31	8
8		5	31	9	42	32	9
9		6	32	10	43	33	10
These 10 years following, the Genoans fighting against the Venetians and Pisans, hasten the ruin of the Christians in Palestine.							
1260	M. 5. D. 5.	1		11	44	34	11
1	Urban IV.	2		12	45	35	12
2		3		13	46	36	13
3		4		14	47	37	14
4	M. 1. D. 4.	5		15	48	38	1
5	Clement IV.	6		16	49	39	2
6		7		17	50	40	3
7		8		18	51	41	4
8	M. 9. D. 25.	9		19	52	42	5
9	The See void.	10		20	53	43	6
Hugh King of Cyprus. 13th Voyage under St Louis, King of France, Charles of							
1270		11		21	54	44	7
1	Gregory X.	12		22	55	45	8
2		13		23	56	46	9
3		14	Ro- dolph ab Haps- purg.	1	Ed- ward I.	3	10
4		15	2	2	4		11

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Dutch Knts.</i>	<i>Caliphs of Syria.</i>	<i>Great Chams of Tartary.</i>	<i>Mameluke Sultans of Egypt.</i>
	XVI. Pantaleon, a Frenchman.		3		3	
			4	Mus- 1 teazem, the last	4	Melech, other- wise called Clothes.
			5	Caliph 2 of Syria, a cove-	5	
			6	tous 3 miser, con-	6	
			7	quered by the	7	
Haalach the Tartarian cometh to Antioch; is there kindly entertained by Prince Conrad.	He is made Pope by the name of Urban IV. <i>Platina.</i>		8	Tartari- ans.	8	Bendocdar. 1
			9		Haalach 1 succeedeth his brother	2
			10		Mango. 2	3
			11			3
Conrad cometh into Europe to succour Conradine, his kinsman.			12		Abaga 1 Cham his S. 2	He winneth 5 the kingdom of Damascus from the Tartarian. 6
		XX. Ni- colas Longar.	VII. 1 Hanno de San- ger 2 Hausen.		3	Taketh Saphet, 7 and killeth all that would not turn Mahome- 8 tans: winneth Joppa. 9
Antioch, in the absence of Conrad, won by Bendocdar.			3		4	10
			4		5	11
			5		6	12
Boemund IV.			6		7	13
			7		8	14
			8		9	15
			9		10	16
			10		11	17

<i>A. D.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Emper. of the East.</i>	<i>Emper. of the West.</i>	<i>Kings of England</i>	<i>Kings of France.</i>	<i>Holy War, and Kings of Jerusalem.</i>
1275	<i>M. 4. D. 10.</i>	16	3	3	5	12 The last voyage under Henry Duke of Mecklenburg. 7
6	Innocent V. <i>M. 5.</i>	17	4	4	6	13 8
7	Adrian V. <i>M. 1. D. 7.</i>	18	5	5	7	14 Maria Domicella, Princess of 9
8	John XX. <i>M. 8. D. 8.</i>	19	6	6	8	15 Antioch, resigneth her right of the 10
9	Nicolas III. <i>M. 8. D. 29.</i>	20	7	7	9	16 Kingdom of Jerusalem to 11
1280	The See void.	21	2	8	10	17 Charles. 12
1	Martin II. 1	22	9	9	11	18 13
2	2	23	10	10	12	19 The Sicilian Vespers. 14
3	3 Andronicus Paleologus. 1	1	11	11	13	20 15
4	4	2	12	12	14	1 Charles II. surnamed the Lane, or the De-layer. John his S. 1
5	<i>M. 1. D. 7.</i>	3	13	13	15	2 Henry his Br. 1
6	Honorius IV. 2	4	14	14	Philip 1 3 the Fair.	2
7	<i>D. 2.</i>	5	15	15	2	4 3
8	Nicolas IV. 1	6	16	16	3	5 4
9	2	7	17	17	4	6 Tripoli Sidon Berytus Tyre. ☉ } lost. 5
1290	3	8	<i>M. 9.</i>	18	5	7 Ptolemais besieged; 6
1	4	9	Adolphus of Nassau. 1	19	6	8 taken; and the Latin Christians finally expelled out of Syria. 7
2	<i>M. 1. D. 14.</i>	10		20	7	9 8
3	The See void. Celestine V. <i>M. 5. D. 7.</i>	11	?	21	8	10 9
4	Boniface VIII.	12	4	22	9	11 10

If the reader do observe any difference betwixt our former computation in the book, and our chronology here, let him rather rely on this latter, which I take to be better perfected.

<i>Princes of Antioch.</i>	<i>Patriarchs of Jerusalem.</i>	<i>Masters of Kts. Hospitallers.</i>	<i>Masters of Knights Templars.</i>	<i>Masters of Dutch Kts.</i>	<i>Great Chams of Tartary.</i>	<i>Mameluke Sultans of Egypt.</i>
Dieth May 1 11. Boemund V. S. under the tuition 2 of the Bishop of Tortosa. 3 4 5		XXI. John de Villiers.		11 12 Her- 1 mannus III. 2 3	12 13 14 15 16	16 Dieth by cold gotten with swimming 17 in Euphrates. 18 Melechsait, 1 or Melech- sarbs. 2 3
6 7 Boemund 8 now of age, sideth a- gainst the 9 Templars to the destruc- tion of the 10 Christian cause. 11 12	About this time we find a name- less Pa- triarch of Jerusa- lem, who fled out of Ptole- mais	XXII. Odo de Pinibus.	Peter Belius, a valiant soldier.	4 5 6 7 8 Bur- 1 chardus Schua- 2 dens. 3 4 5	He is poi- 17 soned by the Sultan of Ba- bylon. ☉ 18 Tangodor, his Br. styled 1 himself Ma- homet Cham, and 2 was a great persecutor of the 3 Christians. Argon 1 Cham killed his Br. Ma- homet: he 2 favoureth the Chris- tians. 3 Ragaithus 4 his Br. a lazy voluptuous glutton. ☉ 1	4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2
Lucy his 1 sister, mar- ried in Eu- rope.-- <i>Vide</i> 2 <i>Calvis. in</i> <i>hoc anno.</i> 3		The Hos- pittallers win the castle of Mer- gath.		6 De- 7 posed. 8 Conra- 1 dus de Fertuan- 2 gen. 3	Casanus, S. 1 to Argon. He was very favourable 2 to the Chris- tians.(a) 3 4 5	He expel- 9 leth the Car- melites out of Syria 10 for changing their coats. 11 12 Elpis, or Alphix. 1 2
However, 4 one Hugh, challengeth both the 5 title of An- tioch, and principali- 6 ty of Tripoli. — <i>Knolles</i> , p. 123. 7 8	when it was be- sieged, and was drowned in his flight: it seemeth his name was drowned with him.	XXIII. Vicilbel- mus de Villaret.	He is chosen governor of Ptolemais, and therein slain. James Ma- 1 saiberga- mon.(b) 2 3	6 7 8 9 10 11 12		Seraph, or 1 Arraphus. 2 3 4 5

(a) For in the ninth year of his reign he winneth the city of Jerusalem, and re-
storeth it to the Eastern Christians; who soon after lose it to the Sultan of Egypt.

(b) Last master of the Templars in Syria.—*Continuator Belli Sacri*, l. 5. c. 13,
et 17.

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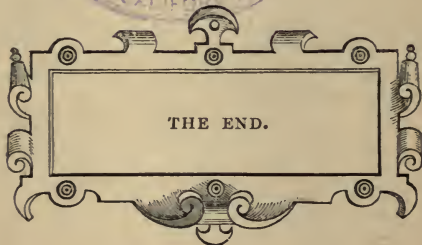
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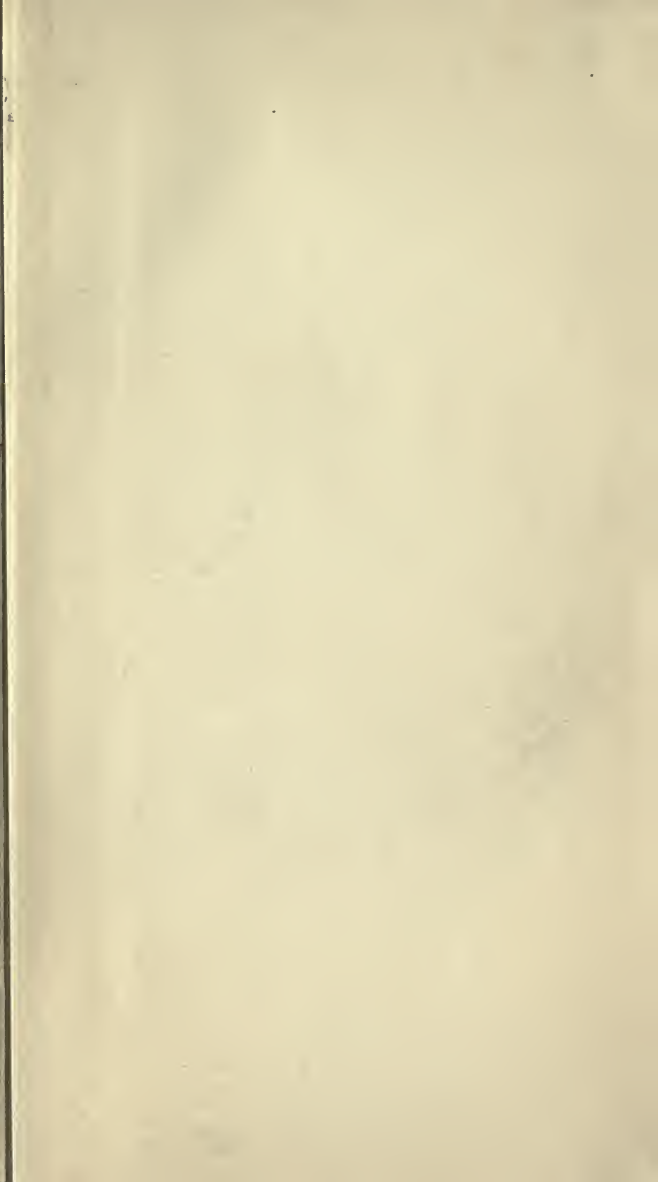
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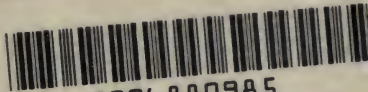
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